NOBILITY UNDER BABUR AND HUMAYUN

ABSTRACT
THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

IN

HISTORY

BY

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2010

The study of Mughal nobility has attracted a great deal of attention of scholars of medieval Indian history in recent years and basically three important works, M. Athar Ali's, Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, Satish Chandra's, Parties and Politics at the Mughal court, 1707-1740 and Iqtidar Alam Khan's, Political Biography of a Mughal noble, Munim Khan, 1497-1545, have already been published. Many research papers on various aspects of the working of the nobility have also appeared in the important journals. But these articles and few monographs on the lives of important nobles and their families are not sufficient. No detailed study of the structure of the nobility and the roles of nobles during the reign of Babur and Humayun has been made so far.

So the present study is the beginning in this direction with regard to the nobility under Babur and Humayun covering the 1st half of the sixteenth century.

The organisation of the nobility was an important institution devised by the Mughal emperors and its roots can be traced back to political developments in west Asia. In fact the existence of Mughal empire depended ons the proper working of this institution.

Babur's nobles or the Begs were mainly of central Asian origin with the exception of few Iranis who joined his service after the fall of Timurid power in Herat. Prior to the conquest of India he could not create a nobility fully disciplined and subservient to him.

After the battle of Panipat, the composition of nobility began to change with the admission of Afghan and Indian nobles in the ruling class so that Babur could establish stable rule in India. Baburnama gives several references regarding the leverages in the form of jagirs and services given to Indian nobles along with central Asian nobles. It also appears that Babur started making friendly relations with the local chiefs. These attempts of the integration of the new nobles were made in order to strengthen the supremacy of the ruler towards the older nobility which were regulated thorough certain customary rules

designated as Tura-i changezis. However, the Afghans who constituted largest group of nobles among Indian nobles could not be fully integrated.

After the death of Babur and during the early years of Humayun the problems of nobility brought new dimensions. The nobles asserted their claim that 'the empire belonged not to the ruler but to the ruling family'. The conspiracy to enthrone Mehdi Khwaja in place of Humayun and the revolts of Mirzas could be re-examined in this context.

Moreover, Humayun was incapable to deal the problems of growing Afghan resistance, the dissensions of the Mughal Afghan nobles and factionalism of Turani nobility. The attitude of his brothers especially Mirza Kamran further complicated the situation because certain sections of nobles were always eager to incite and support them. The collapse of Gujrat, the conquest and defeat of the Mughal army against Sher Shah was basically the result of Emperor's lack of coordination with his nobility and nobility's lack of confidence in him and not because of military weakness.

After Humayun's defeat and expulsion between 1540 and 1555 the composition of Mughal nobility again began to change by inclusion of the Iranian nobles. In these circumstances, the old Turani nobility began to disappear and a large number of new Turani nobles who were in lower ranks were raised to higher ranks and given important position. Simultaneously, Irani nobles were also promoted, they were appointed to various important central offices such as Diwan, Wazir, Mir Saman, Mushrif-i Diwan etc.

After the reconquest, Humayun felt the need and importance of including local elements in the ruling class through matrimonial alliance. The dependence of the ruler on the new nobility and the priviledges given to them caused the tensions within the Mughal nobility up to the time of the Afghan offensive in 1556. The dominant section of the ruling class were largely chaghtai nobles who did not want to accept the supremacy and to share the power in the

administration to the newly group of nobility and those nobles were basically against the centralization of power.

The present study contains the following objectives :-

It would mainly make an attempt to survey the character, composition and role of the nobility during the political history of our period of study. We will also make a brief study of the Timurid concept of sovereignty especially the relationship between the king and his ruling class. This naturally would lead a discussion on Turco-Mongol theory of kingship which is very important for our study. We will also analyse the shifting alliances and affiliations of individual nobles and the various political factions during the period under review. Internal dissension and changing fortunes of nobles within the nobility will also be examined. Finally an attempt would also be made to analyse the role of emperor's towards the exiting nobility and the lives of the important nobles.

The following hypothesis has been tested in the light of the study :-

i. The nature of the relationship of the nobility with the emperor.

ii. How far crisis in the nobility was responsible in creating problems for the emperors.

iii. How much the nobility was responsible in the process of the expansion of Mughal empire.

iv. How far the nobility was successful in regard to the functioning of administration.

For making the study of nobility we have prepared the lists of nobles along with their assignments, values, honours and rewards, offices and military services under the reign of Babur and Humayun. Lists of religious saints, hakims, maulanas and noble ladies who remained during Humayun's court have also been prepared. We have also prepared lists of nobles who accompanied Humayun during his critical conditions.

The present work is mainly divided into four chapters including introduction, conclusion and appendix.

THESIS

In the first chapter we have given a brief study of Timurid concept of sovereignty especially the relationship between the king and his nobility. In this context the importance of Tura-i changezi has been dealt which is very important for our study.

The second chapter provides the study of the role, character and nature of Turkish and Mughal nobles under Babur in Central Asia and Kabul. We have also focused on some conspiracies and revolts by his relatives. It also describes about those nobles who submitted to Babur in Kabul.

In the third chapter we have examined the role and the composition of Babur's nobility after the conquest of India. In this respect we have identified this into two broad groups, the Hindustani (Afghans) and the central Asian nobles. It is also included in this the details of the local Zamindars, the rais or the rajas. It also mentions about the assignments, its values, rewards, services held by the important nobles.

In our fourth chapter we have shown about the composition of the nobility under Humayun's early period. It also deals the problems of growing Afghan resistence, the dissensions of the Mongol Afghan nobles and factionalism of Turani nobility. It has also been examined the attitudes of Humayun's brothers especially Mirza Kamran and the revolts of Mirzas. Further we have discussed about the attitude of different sections of the nobility adopted towards Humayun. In this context we have analysed the changing attitude of the old Turani nobility, the growing strength of Irani nobility and the support of new Turani nobility.

From the study of the nature, role, composition and over all survey of the nobility in our period we have come to the conclusion that the Mughal ruling class did not constitute a disciplined and a strong organization to sort out the complex problems of newly established empire in India. The attempts made by the emperors to bring about some

changes in its composition, to improve its working and making it loyal and dependant to the crown were not fully successful. The most important reason remained the presence of powerful clans and family groups of nobles with their roots in central Asian traditions or claims of high descent. It was only in Akbar's time that the nobles were fully brought under the control of the crown.

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This is to certify that the thesis entitled "Nobility under Babur and Humayun" by Mr. Md. Khursheed Alam Anjum is an original work and may be placed before the examiners for the award of the Ph.D. degree.

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Supervisor

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the name of God, most gracious, most merciful, who has created the universe and human beings, and made them realize whatever they desire with His consent and love.

I dedicate this submission of the present work to my late respected father Md. Zafiruddin who was the senior most lawyer in the civil court, Araria. His love, affection and inspiration gave me immense moral support to face the challenges of life since childhood. His acts and thoughts always remain a great source of encouragement.

Many individuals and institutions must be profoundly thanked and appreciated for their moral and material help, cooperation and encouragement without which my Ph.D. research could not have completed.

First and foremost, I express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Mohd. Afzal Khan, for his scholarly guidance, critical advice and cordial attitude which enabled me to accomplish this valuable piece of work. He constantly showed and encouraged me the right path and vision of research work. His importance to me is more than what he realises. I owe him humble and respectable thank

I must acknowledge my sincere thank to Prof. B.L. Bhadani,Chairman, Centre of Advanced Study in History for his generous cooperation in the submssion of this thesis as required.

I also owe my deep sense of indebtedness and reverence to Prof.Afzal Hussain who was kind to me both with his time and attention. He has given me guidance on a number of problems.

My sincere and grateful thanks are also due to Prof. Shireen Moosvi, Prof. Mansura Haider, Prof.R.K.Trivedi, Dr.E.Hooda, Dr. Javed Akhtar, Kunwar Hashim Ali Khan, Ex- Vice Principal (Ahmedi Blind School) and Dr. Liaqat Ali Khan of providing the kind support in the admission of the prescrtibed course of my Ph.D. programme.

I am also indebted to my family members especially my mother and elder brother for their patience, moral and material support during research work.

With due regards I greatly acknowledge thanks to Prof. Mahmud Khan, Dept. of Psychology, Ex- Provost of my hall who provided me Aftab Hostel.

I also wish to express my great indebtedness to Dr.Azhar Alam, Dr. Iftikhar Ahmad Khan, Dr. Waseem Raza, Dr. Maqsud, Dr. Perwaiz Nazeer, Mr. Afzal Nabi Khan, Dr. Jibrail, Mr. Bhoor Muhammad, Mr. Nazeer, Mr. Sharafat, Mr. Yusuf Siddiqui, Mr.Tahir, Mr. Abad, Dr. Rafiullah(B.U.M.S) for their kind attitude and moral support.

Last but not the least I express my sincere thanks to the following friends: Mr. Sanjar Ahmad(MCA), Dr. Shahid Imam, Dr. Jaffari, Dr. Aftab Alam(M.D), Mr. Jamaluddin, Mr. Izhar, Maulana Salahuddin, Dr. Najeeb, Mr. Saleem, Dr. Athar, Dr. Khursheed Khan, Miss Amita, Mr. Fareed, Dr. Arshad, Dr. Mustaqim, Dr. Rehan Ghani, Mr.Nayyar, Dr. Faisal Aziz, Maulana Javed, Mr. Shahid Siddiqui, Mr. Salahuddin, Dr. Qamra Alam, Mr. Zoheb, Dr.Kamal, Dr. Zafar, Mr. Hamid, Dr. Meejanur Rehman, Dr. Saiffullah Saifi, Mr.Haider Hussain, Mr. Asim, Dr. AbuBakar, Mr. Abbas, Mr. Naved, and Mr. Shabi Hasan for their support and good wishes.

I am also thankful to the staff of Dean, Faculty of Social Science, Research Library, CAS in History and Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U. for the Assistance they extended to me.

Likewise grateful thanks are also due to the ICHR, New Delhi for the award of the fellowship which greatly supported me in the completion of this research work.

Finally I am thankful to the members of typist team for their timely support in the computation of this thesis.

I take full responsibility for errors if any in this study.

Khursheed Alam

Date : 19/1/2010

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ABBREVIATION

B.N.	Baburnama
Q.H.	Qanun-i Humayuni
T.R.	Tarikh-i-Rashidi
T.W.	Tazkirat-ul- Waqiat
T.H.	Tazkira –i-Humayun –o-Akbar
T.H.	Humayun Nama
T.A.	Tabaqat-i-Akbari
M.T.	Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh
A.N.	Akbar nama
M.R.	Maāsiri Rahimi
T.A.A.	Tarikh-i- Alam Arai Abbasi
T.U.	Tazkirat-ul Umara
T.F.	Tarikh-i Farishta or Gulshana-i Ibrahim
I.H.C.	Indian History Congress
T.B.	Tabaqat-i Baburi
T. sh.	Tarikh-i Shershahi or Tahfa-i Akbarshahi

INTRODUCTION

The organization of the nobility was an important institution devised by the Mughal emperors and its roots can be traced back to political and economic developments in West Asia under Islam. In fact the existence of Mughal empire depended on the proper working of this institution as it had been an important organ of monarchical system of government. It played a significant role in the growth, organization, administrative structure, social and cultural life of the Mughal empire.

There was a symbiotic relationship between the king and the nobility. The success of an emperor depended, on the one hand, upon his ability to maintain the equilibrium between the powers of the crown and the nobles, on the other hand, upon his ability to maintain a balance of power among the various factions of the nobility. The composition of the nobility varied from time to time depending on their loyalty, administrative efficiency, political consideration, social milieu of the Empires and finally the reaction and response of the Emperors.

During the Mughal period the nature of the organization of nobility was closely related to the nature of the administrative structure and the socio-cultural base of the Empire. So in recent past more attention has been paid to the study of the vital institution of nobility by the scholars of

Medieval Indian history. A major break through in this direction was made with the Publication of Satish Chandra's, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court,, (1707-1740) , in which for the first time he analysed in detail the role of the nobility during the period of the later Mughals. It was followed by an authentic account of the ruling class in its totality by M. Athar Ali's, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb and the Apparatus of Empire. It opened new horizons for investigation and research. These works have greatly enriched our understanding of the functioning of the Mughal Empire.

Several research papers and monographs on various aspects of the working of the nobility have also appeared in the important Journals.[1] Some of the recent works has studied separately the position of various social, religious and ethnic groups present in the nobility. In this respect some studies have been made on Iranis, Turanis and Rajput Nobility during various periods of Mughal rule. These monographs and research articles on important nobles and family groups of nobles have also been

[1] Syed Nurul Hasan, 'New Light on the Relation of early Mughal Rulers with their Nobility', I.H.C.1956.
------- , 'The Theory of Nur Jahan Junta, A critical Study, I.H.C., 1956.
Afzal Hussain, 'Provincial Governors under Akbar,' I.H.C., 1970.
---------, 'Growth of Irani Element in Akbar's Nobility', I.H.C. , 1973.
----------, 'Element of Continuity and stability in Mughal Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir, ' studies in History, Vol.II, No.2, 1980.
Ahsan Raza Khan, "Gradation of Nobility. under Babar, Islamic culture, Vol. XI, No.1, Jan.1986.

published.[2] Two works on Afghans have been published but they are of very general nature. [3]

But very little work has been attempted on the study of the nobility of the early Mughals. Professor S. Nurul Hasan's article, New light on the Relations of the early Mughal Rulers with their Nobility, and Iqtidar Alam Khan's, Mirza Kamran, A Biographical study deal with the organization and the role of the nobility primarily under Humayun. However, a large number of monographs have appeard on Babur, more than any other Mughal emperor of Hindustan. But the most of these works are in the nature of biographies of Babur renarrating the events of his life in a chronological sequence. In this context the beginning in researches on Babur was made with the publication of A.R. Khan's article 'Babur's settlement of his conquest in Hindustan' in which he focussed attention on Babur's administration . Radhey Shyam's , Babur,

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[2] Afzal Hussain, Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir (A study of Family groups) , Delhi, 1999.
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Satish Chandra, Marwar under Jaswant Singh (1658-1678).
Firdous Anwar,Nobility under the Mughals(1628-1658),delhi,2001.

[3] Abdur Rahim, History of the Afghans in India, 1545-1631, Karachi 1961.
Rita Joshi, The Afghan Nobility and the Mughals, (1526-1707), Delhi, 1985.

1980 , the first monograph on Babur which discusses, in addition to Babur's life and reign. Similarly S.K. Bane rjees, Humayun Badshah is the same kind of work. Moreover, on the lives of Humayun some other works have also been produced. [4] These are valuable monographs covering this whole period and concentrate on the person of the Emperor rather than taking an overall review of the governing class.

But those above mentioned articles and few monographs on the lives of important nobles and their families are not sufficient. No detailed study of the structure of the nobility and the roles of nobles during the reign of Babur and Humayun has been made so far. So in the absence of any comprehensive work the present study would be a beginning in this direction with regard to the Nobility under Babur and Humayun covering the Ist half of the sixteenth century. It will offer some interesting and useful insights into the period of both the emperors.

The Mughal nobility as it is well known comprised of multiracial (Turanis, Iranis, Indian Muslims, Rajputs, Afghans, Deccanis etc) and multi-religious elements (Hindus, Muslims including Shias and Sunnis). Babur's nobles or begs were mainly of Central Asian origin with the exception of few Iranis who joined his service after the fall of Timurid power in Herat. In the early period of his reign the nobility behaved in a

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[4] Ishwari Prasad, Life and Times of Humayun, Orient Longmans Ltd, Calcutta ,1955.
R.S. Awasthy, The Mughal Emperor Humayun, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, 1967.

primitive fashion. The nobility was predominantly of Mongol race which displayed enormous sense of loyalty and did help to save his Kingdom from his elderly and ambitious rivals.

After the conquest of Kabul, Babur's position began to be stable and he started asserting his control on the nobility. At this juncture, he was apparently averse to the existing relationship between the ruler and his nobility. When he started on his expedition to northern India, he raised 'small men of little standing' to the status of begs, to keep them effectively under his control.

Prior to the conquest of India, Babur was hardly in a position to organize a nobility fully disciplined and subservient to him. The territory under his control was small and not very productive. In these circumstances it was not possible for him to attract and retain a stable nobility. The nobles who remained with him were treated more as associates. The situation became more complicated because of the presence of a large number of close relations and members of important chaghtai clans. In these circumstances the position of the king remained very weak and he could not control the ruling class very effectively.

Soonafter the battle of Panipat, the composition of nobility began to change with the admission of Afghan and Indian nobles in the ruling class so that Babur could establish stable rule in India. Babur Nama gives

several evidences regarding the leverages in the form of jagirs and services given to Indian nobles along with the central Asian nobles. It also appears that Babur started making friendly relations with the local chiefs. These attempts of the integration of the new nobles were made in order to strengthen the supermacy of the ruler visa-vis the older nobility which were regulated through certain customary rules designated as Turai-changezis. However, the Afghans who constituted largest group of nobles among Indian nobles could not be fully integrated.

After the death of Babur and during the early years of Humayun the problems of nobility brought new dimensions. The nobles asserted their claim that 'the empire belonged not to the ruler but to the ruling family.' The conspiracy to enthrone Mahdi khawaja inplace of Humayun and the revolts of Mirzas could be reexamined in this context.

Moreover, Humayun was incapable to deal the problems of growing Afghan resistance, the dissensions of the Mughal Afghan nobles and factionalism of the Turani nobility. The attitude of his brothers especially Mirza Kamran further complicated the situation because certain seactions of nobles were always eager to incite and support them. The collapse of Gujrat, the conquest and defeat of the Mughal army against Shershah was basically the result of the Emperor's lack of

coordination with his nobility and nobility's lack of confidence in him and not because of military weakness.

After Humayun's defeat and expulsion between 1540 and 1555 the composition of Mughal nobility again began to change by inclusion of the Iranian nobles. In these circumstances, the old Turani nobility began to disappear and a large number of new Turani nobles who were in lower ranks were raised to higher ranks and given important position. Simultaneously, Irani nobles were also promoted, they were appointed to various important central offices such as Diwan, Wazir, Mir Saman, Mushrif-i Diwan etc.

Along with the increased power of the Irani nobility in Kabul, came the emergence of a new Turani nobility which Humayun raised mainly to strengthen his position towards the old nobility. In doing so, he promoted low ranking Turani nobles and admitted a number of Persians and used them as bulwark against the old Turani nobles. The new nobility served him loyally throughout his contest with Mirza Kamran and followed him in the conquest of India. In recognition of their services important assignments were generally given to this section of the nobility. By raising Iranis and low ranking Turanis to higher ranks, Humayun was able to create a ruling class loyal to the king and was successful in reconquering Hindustan. The dependence of the ruler on the new nobility

and the priviledges given to them caused the tensions within the Mughal nobility upto the time of the Afghan offensive in 1556.

In the present study we propose to make an attempt to survey the character, composition and the multifarious functions of the ruling class during the political history of Babur and Humayun. We will also make a brief study of the Timurid concept of sovereignty especially the relationship between the king and his ruling class. This naturally would lead a discussion on Turko-Mongol theory of kingship which is very important for our study. We will also analyse the shifting alliances and affiliations of individual nobles and the various political factions during the period under review. Internal dissessions and changing fortunes of nobles within the nobility will also be examined. Finally an attempt would also be made to analyse the role of emperors towards the existing nobility and the lives of the important nobles.

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I have tried my best to consult all the contemporary, semi contemporary and modern works related to the subject.

CHAPTER- 1

TIMURID CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY –EMPEROR'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NOBILITY

The principles defining the role and standing of a monarchy in a polity may be referred to as the theory of kingship. A study of these principles is important for understanding the basic character and inner working of a monarchical state. However, there exist few studies of this nature regarding the despotic states of Medieval India. One such study is found in R.P. Tripathi's, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration. [1]

It is significant that the absolute traditions of sovereignty and the conjunction of spiritual and temporal rulership were developed at many courts as a defence mechanism against undue encroachment upon the King's authority. The concept of Kingship and deification of sovereigns are reflected with the beginning of system of monarchy. Although the literature of ancient and medieval central Asia gives enough information in this respect. [2]

In almost all the states of orient, faith and kingship are interdependent as is well certified by Persian sources. In west and central Asia, the concept of kingship evolved by the Sasanids was appreciated and adopted in India by Balban. Under the Samanids, the ruler was a

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[1] Iqtidar Alam Khan , 'Turko –Mongol Theory of Kingship', Medieval India-A Miscellany, 1972, Vol. II, P.1.

[2] Mansura Haider, 'Central Asian Heritage in the Mughal Polity', x xth Dr. M.A. Ansari Memorial Lecture, JMI, New Delhi, 2003, P.16-20.

"despot, absolute and autocratic – who was answerable to God". The Sasanids believed that "the rightful rulers are endowed with divine effulgence or farr-i-izdi. [3]

Unlike the Muslim rulers (all over the Islamic world) whose autocracy was limited by Sharia and Urfo –O-ada (holy law and customary practices), Changiz tried to enjoy unlimited powers. Like the Parsi concept of Mobid-i Mobidan he combined in himself the temporal and spiritual authority and was described by the chroniclers as "Scourage" or " flial" of God on the one hand and a perfect example of "universal generosity" on the other. He was given the title of Ssuto Bogda (High-lofty God) and his image used to be hung on the camp doors. [4]

The divine theory of kingship began over the horizon of the Perso-Islamic and Turco-Mongol sovereignty from ninth to seventeenth century. [5] There are evidences of divine theory of sovereignty in the declaration of Chingiz as the representative of God on earth and that he transmitted sovereignty to his descendants. The Secret History mentions several instances of divine intervention in Changiz Khan's early career. [6]

It appears that the Mongols like most nomadic people, believed in ancestral worship which became all the more sacred and fervent in case

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[3] Ibid , P.21.
[4] Ibid , P.17.
[5] Ibid,p.19.
[6] Douglas, E. Streusand, The Formation of the Mughal Empire, Delhi, 1989, P.29.

of Changiz due to his military and political achievements. Juvaini refers to the human sacrifices offered to Changiz Khan's Spirit. [7] The concept of divine kingship existing both in Turkish domain of the 6th and 7th centuries and in the pre-Mongol steppe domain as reflected from orkhon inscriptions has also influenced Chingiz's ideals of sovereignty. It was also declared by Shaman Kokchu that the blue sky (Mong Kekok Tengri) had made Changiz his representative. [8]

Changiz Khan's laws were also important in the sense that it were binding upon the people. These laws were very severe and draconian and their ruthless enforcement regardless of the victims status can be expressed in Juvaini's own words "Their obedience and submissiveness is such that 'if there be a commander of hundred thousand between whom and the Khan there is distance of sunrise and sunset and if he commits some fault the Khan despatches a single horse man to punish him after the manner prescribed ; if his head has been demanded, he cuts it off, and if gold required, he takes it from him."[9]

It shows that such an unquestioning submission was inherent in Mongol concept of sovereignty. Minhaj says that "in conformity with the usual customs in force among that people, those important matters were caused to be ratified." Changiz said "if you obedient to my mandates, it

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[7] Mansura Haider, 'The Mongol Traditions and their survival in Central Asia,' Central Asiatic Journal, Vol. 28, 1984, P.66.
[8] Ibid , P.67.
[9] Ibid.

behoveth that if I should command the sons to slay the fathers you should all obey." [10]

As regards Timur, he claimed Alan Qua and her celestial paramour as common ancestors with Changiz Khan. Through this lineage he believed himself heir to Changiz Khan and projected himself as the guardian of the divinely commanded empire.He did not claims sovereignty in his own name but acted as an agent of a puppet pretender to the throne of a renewed and reunited Mongol empire. However, he presented himself as the executive agent for the Changiz Khanid mandate to rule, this status involved a form of sovereignty which was transmitted to his descendants, who ruled in their own names." [11]

In this respect Timur and his descendants manipulated the complex social, political and cultural traditions of their Turco-Mongol heritage to provide an atmosphere of legitimacy for their rule. He issued his orders and had the Khutba read on Friday in mosques in the name of a descendant of Changiz Khan. He governed in strict adherents of Changiz Khan's Code of law, the shrewd political maneuver. [12]

Timur's theory of sovereignty and views about methods of administration are well reflected through the comments given in various sources. Yezdi has also tried to glorify Timur as one with divine status.

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Douglas, E. Streusand, op.cit., P.29.
[12] Thomas W. Leutz and Glenn D. Lowry, Timur and the Princely vision, Persian Art and Culture in the XVth Century, Smith Soniam Institute Press, Washington, 1989, P. 27.

to Timur's personal ideology who had adopted changizid institutions. [15] A code of conduct and certain laws and regulations were framed by Timur in the style of changiz Khan.[16]

Changiz has announced to his people that he had made the Yasa to rule them. The Yasa was his code of laws, a combination of his own will and the most expedients of tribal customs. It did not contain any religious element and dealt mainly with the political principles and organization of the government, civil and military administration of their state in accordance with the principle of Yasa. [17]

There was the significance of the Mongol customs and traditions which can not be ignored. In this reference the Tura-i Changizi which was considered an important constitutional code by the Mughals is noteworthy. The influence of the Yasa on the Timurid state can be seen from the observation made by Babur in his account: "My forefathers and family had always sacredly observed the rules of Changiz. In their parties, their courts, their festivals and their entertainments, in their sitting down and rising up, they never acted contrary to the Turai Changizi . The Turai Changizi certainly had no divine authority, so that any one should be obliged to conform to them; "every man who has a good conduct

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[15] Mansura Haider, Medieval Central Asia, Polity, Economy and Military Organization, Manohar, Delhi, 2004, P.25.
[16] V.V. Barthold, Four studies on Central Asia, V. II, Lieden, 1962, PP. 39-40.
[17] Mansura Haider, 'The Sovereign in the Timurid State , 'op.cit, P. 62-63. .

ought to observe it. If the forefather had done what is wrong, the son ought to change it for what is right."[18]

Several other references in the contemporary sources to the observance and respect for the Tura in the royal court, administrative procedure and social etiquettes that testify to the fact that the impact of the Mongol traditions and law was indelible on the Mongol empire. [19] The words of Ibn-Arabshah certainly prove in considerable influence of Tura in Timurid empire. Ibn -Arab Shah says:

" He (Timur) clung to the laws of Changiz Khan, which are like branches of law from the faith of Islam, and he observed them in preference to the law of Islam. Thus it is also with all the Chaghtais, the people of Dasht, Cathey, Turkistan, all which infidels the laws of Changiz Khan rather than the laws of Islam." [20]

The Turko - Mongol theory was based on the ideas and precedents left by Timur the Turk and Changez Khan the Mongol. The King, in the Mongol tradition was considered something higher than simply a leader. The Mongols believed in the semi-divine origin of the family of Changiz Khan. It was the popular belief that he was the son of light. [21]

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[18] Memoirs of Babur, Eng. tr. John Leyden and William Erskine, Oxford University Press, 1921. P.7.

[19] Abul Fazl, Akbarnama ,tr Eng. A.H. Beveridge , I, Calcutta, 1897- 1926. P.63. (hereafter cited as A.N.).

[20] Mansura Haider, ' The Mongol traditions and their survival in Central Asia', op.cit , P.74.

[21] R.P. Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, Allahabad, 1959, PP. 105-6.

The Great Khan – Mughal Khan was different from the Khalifa of the Islamic theory. The Great Khan was purely a political and military leader with no religious obligations binding on him. It was no part of his duty to enforce a unchangeable code of divine or quasi divine system of law as was the case with Khalifa. The Mughal sovereign had no such limitations. He was a political sovereign pure and simple. The theory had gained reality from the traditions and conventions among the Mughals which oriented towards greater centralization. [22]

As Changiz had taken his divine theory of something from the Uighurs, the Mongols believed in the absolute power of the khan which is also proved from the following words of Mongol Khan, "In the sky there can only be one sun or one moon; how can there be two master on earth." This concept of sovereignty continued even under Timur who pronounced that "the whole expanse of the inhabitated part of the world is not worthy of two kings; since God is one, therefore the viceregent of God on earth should also be one." At another place Timur had declared that "as a women can not have two husbands and empire should also have only one sovereign." [23] Babur also confirmed that "Partnership in rule is a thing unheard; against it stands Sadi's words "ten Darvishes sleep under a blanket; two Kings find no room in a clime." [24]

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[22] Ibid, P.106.
[23] Mansura Haider, ' The Sovereign in the Timurid State', op.cit., P.65.
[24] Baburnama, Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, London, 1921. P.293.(hereafter cited as B.N.)

The King's authority in the Timurid polity was not subject to the sanction of any outside power. Timur did not consider to recognize the legal superiority of the caliph. It does not, however mean that he exercised the unrestrained use of power. He himself showed considerable regard for his nobles and officials and has emphasized the importance of consulting the wise. [25]

Being a firm believer in absolutism, Timur never attached undue importance to Kurultai(the Mongol consulting assembly). His own decisions were final and unequivocal. If he desires to take some action, he could even "find and interpret his own favour the text from Quran" to suit his convenience. In these circumstances, even the Mullas could not pass judgments or offer advice. [26]

In connection of Timur's, absolute authority. Tuzuk adds:

"Therefore it is requisite that the sky be not so guided by the conduct of the counsels of others as to make them his associate in his regal authority for although he be obliged to hear good advice from all yet he must not to that degree attend upon them, as to enable them by their measures their counsels to become his equals in the concerns of his government -------[27]; must not trust the concerns of his government, to other, not the hands of a servant as it may soon come to that the powerful

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[25] R.P. Tripathi, op.cit., P.107.
[26] V.V. Barthold, op.cit. , P.23-24.
[27] Tuzukat-i Timuri, ed Major Davy, Oxford, 1782, P. 224.

servant shall aspire to regal authority – seat himself on the throne of his master – nor should he associate any one with him in the administration of his authority. [28]

During the early years of Timur there were several factors which made the existence of puppet Khan of political necessity. The Chaghtai nobles had largely supported Timur but the Mongols refused to give assistance. In this regard Haider Doughlat says :

"In Amir Timur's first expeditions his general would not obey him as they should have done. Now if he had ordered them all to be put to death he would but have weakened his own power. The generals said to him: you should appoint a Khan, whom we must obey ; so Amir Timur appointed Sayur- ghatmish Khan over them and the generals submitted to the Khans." [29]

The above statement is also corroborated by Ibn-i Arabshah who states that "Timur set up Sayurghatmish to repel the calumnies of detractors and cut off the piercing point of tongue." [30] He continued to call himself an Amir of the Turks or the Shah of Muslims rather than desiring to be addressed as the Khan of the Mongols. Arab Shah confirms this fact and expresses his surprise over the reluctance of Timur in this matter:

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[28] Ibid , PP. 199,288.

[29] Mirza Haider Doghlat, Tarikh-i- Rashidi tr. Eng. E. Denisson Ross and N.E. Elias, V.I. , reprint, ABI, Publication, New Delhi. PP.83-84 (hereafter cited as T.R.)

[30] Ibn-i-Arab Shah, Ajaibul Maqdur, Eng. tr. By J.H. Saunder, London. 1936. PP.12-13.

"Only men of the tribe of Changiz claim the title Khan and Sultan since they are Quresh of the Turks whom no one can take precedence or pluck that nobility from their hands : for if any one could have done it; it would have certainly Timur, who conquered Kingdoms and dared every thing." [31]

After the death of Mahmud, Timur did not care to appoint any other Khan and to the end of his reign money was coined in the name of the dead Khan. [32] The only royal prerogative enjoyed by the Khan was that the manshurs of Timur used to be issued in the name of these Khans. These farmans carried the words "Sayurghatmish Khan Yarlighden Timur Gurgan sozum." [33] Some of the farmans are to be in the name of Timur also. The title Khaqan appears in these farmans along with the name of Timur. But he never adopted this title, the authenticity of such farmans is rather doubtful. [34]

The names of the Khans and Timur both appeared on the coins and were recited in the Khutba [35] which showed that the Khans authority was only confined to the few outward expression. Haider Dughlat gives repeated confirmation that the power of these Khans was only nominal and that they were "honoured with the title of Khan inspite of the fact

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[31] Ibid.
[32] V.V. Barthold, op.cit., V.II, P.25.
[33]. Hafiz Tanish, Abdullah Nama, P.39.
[34]. Mansura Haider, 'The sovereign in the Timurid State,' op.cit. , P.69.
[35] V.V. Barthold, op.cit., II, P.85.

they were in reality prisoners" and were kept cloistered in Samarqand." [36] This view is further supported by Ibn-i- Arab Shah who says that "under his (Timur's) sway were rulers and the subjects alike and the Khan was in his bondage like a centipede in mud and he was like the caliph at this time in the regard of the Sultans." Al Hasan Arabi, an Arab traveler, who visited Central Asia during the reign of Timur also gives support to these above statements. [37]

From the facts recorded in the various sources one may conclude that Timur had continued to maintain his supremacy over the Khan. All the affairs of the state were carried out by Timur independently. The treasury and the army, which are the real strength of the king were also controlled by Timur himself. Barthold clearly states that "there is no evidence that Timur had any time awarded honours to the Khans in the presence of the troops and in solemn surroundings." [38]

The fact that Timur had organised a coronation only for himself further confirms the purely nominal nature of the power of the Khan. As soon as he acquired necessary power and secured enough support from the Chaghtai nobles then he proclaimed himself sovereign in 1370 with the title of Shahi Sahib-i giran. [39]

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[36]. T.R., tr. Denisson Ross, I, PP.71-72.
[37] Al Hasan Arabi, Anthony the Armenian, purchase and his pilgrims, Glasgow, Vol. XI, PP. 45-68.
[38] V.V. Barthold, op.cit., II, P.25.
[39] HildaHookam, Tamerlane the Conqueror, London, 1962, P.51.

In dealing with external powers, Timur always behaved like a supreme despot. In his letters to the Ottoman Sultan, the ruler of Iraq and to several others, he claimed that "God Almighty has appointed me lord over you and over unjust princes and despotic kings and has raised me above my enemies" and that "he belonged to the family of Ilkhanids." The Ottoman Sultan always addressed him as Khan-i-Azam and Khaqan-i-Muazzam in his letters and made no reference to the puppet Khans. [40]

The above facts indicate that Timurid sovereignty is absolutism which had been entertained by Timur. The fact is that the power enjoyed by Timur with a nominal counterpart were still those of a sovereign despot and that absolutism had remained an important factor of his idea of sovereignty propounded himself. [41]

A close study reveals that the removal of the name of puppet Khans from the Khutba and coins and manshurs had started much earlier. In his later years Timur had himself attempted to discard the puppet Khans, though in a dubious manner. The only successor of Timur, Khalil Sultan was the first Timurid ruler to have adopted the title of Khan. The coins were also issued in his name.[42]

Generally the names of the puppet Khans did not appear by this time on the Timurid Coins and in the Khutba, however, some of the

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[40] Ibn-i- Arab Shah, op.cit., PP.91-93.
[41] Mansura Haider, 'The sovereign in the Timurid State,' op.cit. , P.66.
[42] V.V. Barthold, op.cit., II, P.25.

manshurs of Ulugh Beg issued bear the name of a certain Satuq Khan also. Tarikh-i Rashidi and Abdullah Nama refer to the deposition of this Khan by Ulugh Beg in 1428. These sources say that Satuq Khan was dispatched to Mughalistan to serve as a puppet Khan and some other person appointed as Khan in Transoxiana. In the following days the name of Satuq Khan's successor is not found either in the sources or in the Sozumiz (manshurs) which suggests that even the formal inclusion of his name in the manshurs had been denied to the Khan. [43]

It should be noted here that Timurid had simultaneously used both (Sharia and Tura) alternately in accordance with the exigencies of the situation.[44] The Timurid concept of sovereignty reflects the divine concept of sovereignty also. The king declared himself to be the temporal head as well as a spiritual leader, and a defender of Islam and a "shadow of God on earth". The words "The king belongs to Allah and the king is the shadow of God on earth" was inscribed on the main entrance to his white palace in shahr-i sabz. Timur himself announced that "he received direct reveleations from the Almighty" which could "divine sanctioned to his enterprises" and that he does nothing whatsoever nor wishes to do any thing without the special commandment of God but provided practical

[43] Mansura Haider, ' The Sovereign in the Timurid State,'op.cit., P.74.
[44] Mansura Haider, 'The Mongol Traditions and their survival in Central Asia,' 'op.cit., p.74.

advantages; that he knows the thoughts and of men; these are revealed to him by an angel. That is why no one dare counsel against him." [45]

But unlike Timur, Shahrukh regarded himself as an Islamic ruler for whose actions the prescriptions of the Sharia were authoritative and not the Mongol traditions. In his letter to the Chinese emperor, Dai Ming, Sharukh emphasized that from the time of Ghazan, Uljaitu and Abu Said upto Timur, the Islamic Sharia was acted upon and men of religion were given an important place. Now the yarghu and qawaidi Changez Khan are completely exterminated. [46] Ibn – Arab Shah recorded that Shahrukh repealed the laws and customs of Changez Khan and ordained that they should make his rule flow along the streams of the laws of Islam. [47] Contradictory information is given by Haider Doghlat that Tura and Tuzuk were followed. [48]

In practice the Timurids enjoyed full powers and were sovereign in their own jurisdiction, although in theory they had left the fiction of the ultimate sovereignty of the Great Khan. It was only with the accession of Abu Said Mirza, the grandson of Timur, introduced a great change in the policy of Timur. He gave rude shock when he said to the Mughal sovereign Yunus Khan "the old orders of things had been changed, you must lay aside all your pretensions that is to say, the mandates will be

[45] Ibn-i- Arab Shah, op.cit., P.25.
[46] The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 6, Cambridge University Press, P.104.
[47] Ibn-i-Arab Shah, op.cit., P.229.
[48] T.R. tr. Eng. II, PP. 307.

issued in the name of the dynasty" (of Timur) because "I am Padshah in my own right." [49]

This step was resented by the Mughals and the hostility was developed among them towards the Timurids. It might be for that reason that Abu Said did not inscribed on the coin any new and high title. In fact he remained contended with the title of Sultan and Mirza. [50] This shows that after the formal discarding of the sovereignty of the Khan, Timurid rulers did not adopt the title of Khaqan. [51] It appears that the practice of installing puppet Khan was merely a political game. It had been played by Timur and his successors to mobilize the support of forces and to use them finally to establish their own power and to legitimize their rule over a territory which was actually usurped from the Mongols. The existence of these puppet Khans could not, however, influence the basic structure of the Timurid state and absolute positions of its rulers. [52]

As Barthold observes in the empire founded by Changez Khan the principle in force was that 'the empire belonged not to the ruler, but to the ruling family'. [53] The sentence attributed to Barthold is actually an observation of Juvaini. The context in which this sentence appears only gives stress of the need of an absolute sovereign, while at the same time

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[49] Ibid, I, PP.83-84.
[50] R.P. Tripathi, op.cit. , P.109.
[51] Iqtidar Alam Khan, op.cit., P.7.
[52] Mansura Haider, 'The Sovereign, op.cit., P.5.
[53] Iqtidar Alam Khan, op.cit., P.13.

assuring a proper division of the territory for the benefit of the others in the family. Changez had not only appointed one of his son as Khan but had also emphasized the need for a sovereign whom all others should obey. [54]

Under the Timurids the old Mongol custom of dividing tribes among the princes was transformed into a territorial division of the empire. [55] And according to Mughal code all those who claim descent from Changez Khan would be included in the royal family. This would naturally make the circle of persons of royal lineage and thus sharing sovereignty in a Mongol state very large. [56] Apparently the empire and the rulership belong to only one person who was the Khan, the fact was that all the sons, grandsons and uncles of the Khan shared the reaches and the country. In this context Barthold himself writes that "one single political administration, acting in the name of the Great Khan, prevailed throughout the whole empire.....".[57]

As regards Babur, he took the notion of sovereignty from Abu Said Mirza and assumed himself the high and distinctive title of Padshah. [58] Like his great ancestor Timur, he regarded himself sovereign in his own right and did not require to legalise his position from some outside

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[54] Mansura Haider, ' The Sovereign, op.cit., P.75.
[55] R.P. Tripathi, op.cit., P.188.
[56] Iqtidar Alam Khan, op.cit., P.13.
[57] Mansura Haider, 'The Sovereign, op.cit., PP. 75-76.
[58] T.R. tr. English. II, P.389.

authority. He also followed the rules of the great Mongol chief for the etiquette to be observed when meeting relations, and the ceremonies to be observed at the time of setting out on a campaign. [59] He was out of his ancestry and believed in the inherent right of the Timurids to rule. He was believer in the hereditary right to sovereignty. In his letter to Sultan Said regarding the succession to the authority in Badakhshan he laid emphasis on the 'hereditary rights' of the heir. [60] Babur's claim to the title of Khaqan after 1526 was a tendency on the part of Timurids to revive certain Changezi traditions which has been disappeared since Timur's time. [61]

In the Timurid polity the position of the sovereign and its relations with the nobility continued to be governed by the traditions evolved under the early Mongol Khaqans which are usually referred to the chronicles as Tura-i-Changezi. [62] In practice the Mongol king owed his rise to throne as much to the nobility's support as the case with Turkish Sultan. But the Mongol King did not acquire absolute powers over the nobility unlike Turkish Sultan. In the Mongol polity there was the prevalence of hereditary priviledges among a large section of the nobility. According to Mongol tradition all those claiming to be the offsprings of Bakhu Khatagi, Bakhatu Salji and Boduanchar, the three mythical figures

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[59] Mohibul Hasan, Babur, Founder of the Mughal Empire in India.,Manohar , 1985.PP.160-61.
[60] T.R.tr .Eng .II ,P. 389.
[61] Iqtidar Alam Khan, op cit., P.13.
[62] For detailed discussion on Tura see, B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, PP.155; T.R. , tr. I, PP. 69-70.

whose birth was attributed to supernatural inspiration had a special standing sanctified by divine origin. [63] For their position and status they did not have to depend upon the sweet will of a king. Moreover, three of Changez Khan's chief lieutenants were also allowed certain hereditary priviledges which can not be suspended by any ruler without going against the code of Mongols. [64]

The Timurids claimed descent from a distinguished chief of Chaghtai Ulus and vast majority of their officers also belong to the Chaghtai clans settled in Central Asia. [65] In accordance with the Yasa-i-Changezi, Timur had assigned special status to a section of the nobility which enjoyed hereditary priviledges. The Chaghtais who formed the major group of his military force, received special favours. [66] The Turko Mongolian political and social structure had been built in such a way that the nobles became subservient to the Khan, in spite of their priviledges. [67] The majority of nobles serving under Babur claim a special status because of their ancestry with Changez Khan. [68]

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[63] Among those Boduanchar was Changiz Khan's ancestor. But the two other also had a divine origin. Their descendants would naturally claim a higher status as compared to ordinary Mongols. See the Secret History of Mongol Dynasty, PP. 50-51; A.N. tr. P.65.
[64] Ibid, PP. 143-144.
[65] Barthold, Four Studies, op.cit. , II, P.13-14.
[66] Syed Jamaluddin, op.cit., P.50.
[67] Mansura Haider, Medieval Central Asia, op.cit., P.52.
[68] The Secret History, op.cit. , P.144.

Out of 112 non-Indian nobles of Babur who served under him in India, 52 can be easily identified either as Chaghtai of Central Asian or Mughals coming from Kashghar region (Mughalistan). [69]

There is sufficient ground to assume that the priviledges of different sections of the nobility sanctified by Changezi tradition were respected among the Timurids till Babur's time. In view of this Babur advised Kamran not to choose his Wakil-i- Mutlaq outside the circle of nobles belonging to a particular 'Mughal' tribe suggests the prevalence of conventions recognizing hereditary claims to certain positions and offices. [70] He also advised Humayun to "take council and settle every word and act in agreement with the well wishers." It is with reference to the dispute between Humayun and kamran he says that " the rule had been always adhered to that when thous hadst six parts Kamran had five." [71] Though Babur personally did not like the idea of the division of authority.[72]

In the Muslim history of India, it is surprising and significant that Humayun transferred the sovereign power for a few hours to the water carrier who saved his life.[73] Gulbadan says that Humayun made the water carrier actually sit on the throne, and "ordered all the amirs to make

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[69] Iqtidar Alam Khan, op.cit., P.8.
[70] Beveridge, 'Babur's letter to Kamran,' New series, Vol. XV, PP. 330-333.
[71] R.P. Tripathi, op.cit. , P.112.
[72] Ibid , P. 113.
[73] Gulbadan Begum, Humayun Nama, Eng.tr. A.S. Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909, P.140 (cited as H N.)

obeisance to him. The servant gave everyone what he wished and made appointments (Mansab)". It shows that sovereignty was a personal property of the Padshah who could award it to any body or do with it as he pleased.[74]

The Timurids allowed certain nobles to share in the Khan's priviledges. The first instance is that of Sultan Hussain Baiqra's noble Bahbud whose name had been inscribed on the Sikka and Tamgha.[75] It is also appropriate to mention that Sultan Baiqara was kind enough to Muzaffar Barlas with whom he made a strange agreement of giving him two tangs of each territory conquered by himself. Babur makes the following comment about this agreement:

"A strange compact indeed! how could it be right to make even a faithful servant a co-partner in rule? Not even a pact; how then should a beg."[76]

The above remarks give a clear indication about the prevalent notions of relation of a noble with the royal authority. Even Sultan Hussain did not care to honour his own promises when he himself became a Sultan and Muzaffar Barlas was ultimately poisoned.[77] Similarly one of Babur's own begs is reported to have set himself up, 'on regal footing, starting receptions and a public table and a court and

[74] R.P. Tripathi, op.cit. P.119.
[75] Mansura Haider, 'The Sovereign in the, op.cit., P.80.
[76] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, PP.270-71.
[77] Ibid.

workshop, after the fashion of Sultan'. Another his begs had kettle drum beaten at his own gate, even though acknowledging Babur as Padshah. In (1507-1508) Shah Beg Arghun the commandant of Qandhar on behalf of the Timurid rulers of Khorasan 'stamped his letter to Babur in the middle of its reverse, where begs seal if writing to one of the lower circles.'[78] Farishta also observed about the Chaghtai nobility that 'each one of them considered himself equal to Kaiqubad and Kaikaus.'[79]

Although it can not be denied that Changiz, Timur and many other Khans had assigned special status to their favourite amirs and some of the priviledges were even hereditary. The fact is that such priviledges enjoyed by the nobles were based on a reciprocal basis. Besides hereditary priviledges, the nobles can be dismissed, executed, punished, fined or atleast "sent Mecca". In case of any defiance, these priviledges could always be terminated. Changiz had prescribed a clause in his law whereby the nobles enjoying special status could be forgiven upto nine offences itself shows that Khan could exercise his absolute power over the nobles.[80] The relationship between Khan and the nobles was of the reciprocal nature in which the hereditary claims were not the greatest determining factor.[81]

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[78] Ibid, PP. 119, 249-250, 277, 332.
[79] Mohd Qasim Farishta, Tarikh-i-Farishta, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, (cited as T.F.) P. 245.
[80] Mansura Haider, 'The sovereign in the, op.cit., P.81.
[81] Ibid , P.82.

In the same way the position of the nobles of the early Mughal rulers depended on their capacity as military leaders. This suggests the fact that there started an interdependence of the monarch and nobles on each other. No monarch could remain on the throne without the support and co-operation of his nobles. Therefore, the position of the nobles depended on the influence they could hold over the King.[82]

This interdependence gave some measure to another social reality that of conflict between the King and his nobles. Since the power of the noble was basically a share of the royal power. It is found that there is continous attempt on the part of the nobles to minimize the control which was exercised over them by the King. Thus the nobles had an almost universal tendency of preventing the attempts of the King to become all powerful. On the contrary, Kings tried their power to increase their domination over the nobles. [83]

Before the conquest of India, Babur was hardly in a position to organize a nobility fully disciplined and subservient to him. The territory under his control was small and not very productive. In these circumstances it was not possible for him to attract and retain a stable nobility. The nobles who remained with him were treated more as associates. The situation became more complicated because of the

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[82] Nural Hasan, 'New Light on the Relations of the early Mughal Rulars with their nobility.' Indian History Congress, Madras, 1944. P.3 (cited as I.H.C).

[83] Ibid, P.4.

presence of large number of close relations and members of important Chaghtai clans. Certain customary rules designated Tura-i Changezi were closely followed. In these situation the position of the King remained very, and he could not control ruling class very effectively.[84]

Although Babur accepted this position in Afghanistan, he was apparently opposed to this kind of relationship between the ruler and his nobility, when he started on his expedition to northern India, he raised 'small men of little standing' to the status of begs, to keep them effectively under his control.[85] But he was in for a close disappointment:

"When I set out from Kabul this last time I had raised many of low rank to the dignity of beg, in the expedition that if I had chosen to go through fire and water, they would have accompanied me cheerfully, march where I would. It never surely entered my imagination that they were to be the persons who were to arraign my measures, nor that before raising from the council, they should show a determined opposition to every plan and opinion which I proposed and supported in the council and assembly."[86]

It also appears that the motive behind admitting a large number of Indian nobles of Babur was to strengthen his position towards the older nobility. But his attempts did not succeed because the Indian nobility

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[84] Afzal Hussain, Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir, Manohar, 1999, Delhi, P.67.
[85] Ibid, P.8.
[86] Memoirs of Babur , tr. Leyden, II, P.248.

could not be relied upon. In these circumstances he developed his cordial relations with the Chaghtai nobility by having confidence with them.[87] After all he was able to keep under control his nobles and was socially quite free with them.[88]

In spite of the various attempts of Humayun to increase his prestige and power, he was never able to become politically supreme. He inculcated certain peculiar notions of kingly glory and divinity so as to be in a position to raise himself above his nobles. While in Bengal he is said to have put a veil on his face in order to create a halo of divinity around himself. [89] Jauhar Aftabchi tells us when Humayun was retreating from Chausa, a noble man, Mir Fakhr Ali happened to come in front of him. Humayun was so enraged that he threatened to punish severely.[90]

In view of Humayun's desire to raise his social position, there is some examples showing a desire on his part to increase his political strength towards the nobles. There was an attempt to reorganize the central government and to classify the nobles according to grades. Khwandmir approved the established of four central departments, which was with a view to exercise some sort of control of the administration of various parts of the country by the nobles. It is also found that some sort

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[87] Afzal Hussain, op.cit., P.8.
[88] Nurul Hasan, op.cit., P.4.
[89] Abdul Qadir Badauni, Muntakhabut- Tawarikh, tr. S.A. Ranking, Vol. I, Academic Asiatic, Patna, 1973. P.46 (cited as M.T)
[90] Jauhar Aftabchi, Tazkira-tul Waqiat, tr.Charles Steward, London, 1832, PP. 14-15 (cited as T.W).

of grades were introduced among the nobility. These measures were definitely intended to increase the dependence of the nobles of the King.[91]

But in spite of these efforts and various attempts at conciliation made by Humayun there was the tendency that the nobles were trying to become as independent as possible. Kamran, Askari, Hindu Beg almost every governor had grown practically independent and Humyaun was not in a position to exercise effective control over them.[92] There were frequent rebellions of his nobles. Mirza Kamran's autonomous control over Afghanistan and the vacillating attitude of Askari and Hindal further contributed to the disruption of Humayun's control over his nobility.[93]

At the end of the first period of Humayun's Kingship when it appeared that his fortunes were in declining, many of his nobles resorted to acts of his disloyality which some times turn to rebellion. Since there are numerous instances of disloyalty, despite of the few examples of devotions shown by some nobles to Humayun. Thus it gives the fact that Humayun was not able to exercise as much control over his nobles as had been exercised by Babur. [94]

Humayun's grand concept of Kingship and his expectations of receiving absolute obedience from the nobles, some times, had gone

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[91] Khwandmir, Qanun-i-Humayuni, tr. Beni Prasad, Calcutta, 1940, PP.34-36 (hereafter cited as Q.H)
[92] Nurul Hasan, op.cit., P.4.
[93] Afzal Hussain, op.cit., P.5.
[94] Nurul Hasan, op.cit., P.8.

reversed due to many occasions the nobles forced their will to be implemented. There was such an occasion in Bengal when Humayun found himself alone there owing to the activities of Sher Shah in his rear. Supported by 'Askari' the nobles obliged Humayun to increase their regiments, stipend and advance a large sum of money in hard cash.[95] Even when Humayun's days of hardships were over and Kamran was a prisoner in his custody the nobles told Humayun that they suffered long enough for him and did not see their wives and children in captivity or under torture. [96] In spite of Humayun's excuses the nobles remained firm in their request to give punishment to Kamran. Humayun then asked them to put down their demands in writing. They asked for the execution of Kamran and supported their demand with legal opinions. Humayun did not go to that extent but issued order Kamran to be blinded.[97]

During the period of Babur the nobles supported him with wealth and power to found an empire. When Humayun came to the throne, nobles did not allow Humayun to become strong due to their political power could be effected.[98] The traditions of the Mughals divided the loyalties of the nobles. Although they gave a general loyalty to the ruling houses but they were not always loyal to any particular individual. In the absence of the law of primogeniture and due to the prevalence of the

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[95] T.W, tr.PP.14-15.
[96] H.N, tr. P.201.
[97] A.N, tr. I, P.603.
[98] Nurul Hasan, op.cit., P.4.

Mughal tradition of dividing the 'Kingdom' among different sons of the ruler, the members of the Timurid family, or the Mirzas, demanded a sort of equality with Humayun. [99]

The disunity among the Mirzas kept the nobility divided. In order to increase their own political power, groups of nobles would some time back up one member of the ruling house, some time the other. The opportunism of the nobles which was inherent in their class made them side either with Humayun, or with Askari or with Kamran. But they tried their best to support winning party. One time it happened that such devotees of Humayun as Yadar Nasir Mirza, Hindal, Kasim Hussain Sultan Uzbek and Tardi Beg deserted him. While among the officers of Kamran, even a trusted follower like Keracha Khan tried to seek favour with Humayun when the latter conquered Kabul.[100]

These nobles showed shifting loyalties. But during his strength with Mirza Kamran for control over the Kabul between 1545 and 1555, Humayun was able to develop a nobility more closely loyal to him. In view of this, he admitted low ranking Turani nobles and admitted a large number of Persians and use to counter against the old Turani nobles. The new nobility served him loyally throughout his contest with Mirza Kamran and followed him in the conquest of India. [101]

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[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid, P.6.
[101] Afzal Hussain, op.cit., P.8.

The nobles wanted to build up their class power, so they did not give Humayun their full cooperation. They started deserting him when he was defeated and it was due to the lack of the cooperation. As a result, the Afghan nobility which had been displaced by the Mughals, had the advantage of this lack of cooperation among the Mughals united under Sher Shah and captured the power. They defeated Humayun and with this defeat, the entire Mughal nobility was uprooted from India.[102]

Realizing of this unprecedented change the nobility made a final attempt to safeguard their political interests by making a compromise with the crown. This occasion came in 1550 when Humayun proposed that all the nobles should take an oath of loyalty to him. They were prepared to do so, but Haji Muhammad Khan (Humayun's Vakildar) demanded that "His Majesty should likewise take an oath that whatever we, his well wishers recommended for his interest he will consent to form". Hindal objected to this 'insolence' on the part of a 'servant' but Humayun took the oath. [103]

It was an attempt on the part of the monarch as well as the noble to resolve the crisis. The nobles by taking an oath, recognized that unless the Mughal monarchy were established,Mughal nobility could not have any power. On the other hand King should give full consideration to the wishes of his nobles. There is considerable evidence to believe that

[102] Nurul Hasan, op.cit, PP.7-9.
[103] Ibid, P.9.

Humayun tried to act upto his promise. Whenever his nobles visited on any thing he generally accepted their advice against his own wishes, e.g. his giving up the project of invading Kashmir or the punishment given to Kamran. He even rebuked Akbar when these nobles complained about the prince.[104]

But this entire scheme, including the promise given by Humayun to respect the wishes of a united nobility failed.[105] Though he was able to create a ruling class loyal to the King and was successful in reconquering Hindustan. The dominant section of his nobility were still confined to a limited number of clan and family groups. Those clan groups were opposed to any centralization of authority. Babur and Humayun could not fully make the nobility subservient to the crown.[106] It was the dominating personality of Akbar which could never tolerate any compromise. He established a strong monarchy which made nobility completely subservient to the ruler.[107]

In this respect Akbar removed clan and family loyalties among the nobles to pay obedience to the sovereign. The subsequent developments that took place under him and partly under Jahangir were directed towards this objective.[108] Therefore, relationship between Babur and

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[104] Ibid, P.10.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Afzal Hussain, op.cit., P.9.
[107] Nurul Hasan, op.cit., P.11.
[108] Afzal Hussain, op.cit., P.9.

Humayun with their nobles reveals the inherent contradictions of the early nobility and the fact is that if they wanted to maintain social position, they had to surrender the political power.[109]

[109] Nurul Hasan, op.cit., P.11.

CHAPTER-2

BABUR'S NOBILITY – I. CENTRAL ASIA

After the accidental death of Umar Shaikh Mirza, the old servants of his father assembled to the fort and paid their respects to Babur. They wanted to defend the fort of Andijan. While Khwaja Maulana Kazi and other begs who were inside the fort of Andijan came to know this plan, they immediately sent an old and trusty household servant of Umarshaikh Mirza to remove Babur's apprehensions and to bring him back to the citadel.[1]

Upon Babur's arrival into the fort, Khwaja Kazi and other begs proclaimed him king and paid their obeisance. Hasan yaqub, Qasim Quchin and other begs who returned from Marghinan and other parts of the country entered into the service. All of them with single minded devotion resolved themselves to the task of making proper arrangements for defending the fort.[2]

In the meantime, one of the Andijan nobles named Muhammad Durwesh Gaus proposed that the young ruler should be handed over to his uncle Sultan Ahmad Mirza in view of latter's attack on Andijan. But his proposal was rejected and Babur's men considered him to be a traitor and put him to death.[3]

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1 B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, PP. 16-17; T.F., tr., Briggs, II, P.2; A.N., tr. I, P. 226.
2 Ibid; G.F. Talbot, Memoirs of Babur, Ess. Publication, Delhi, 1974; A.N., 1, P.226.
3 T.F., tr. Briggs, II, P.4.

On this occasion, the nobles resolved to stand the siege and on the other hand, they opened negotiations with Sultan Ahmad Mirza. For this purpose, Khwaja Qazi, Khwaja Hussain and Auzan Hasan were sent to Sultan Ahmad Mirza [4] on behalf of Babur with the message that Babur regarded himself as his son and servant. He would govern the country as Sultan Ahmad's regent. He promised that he would not dispute his authority over the rest of the Kingdom. [5] With reference to this proposal, Babur writes in his memoirs that after conquest of the country "as he himself would place one of his servants in the country and as I (Babur) was myself both a servant and as a son, he would attain this and most readily and easily, if he entrusted to this service to me."[6]

But Sultan Ahmad Mirza did not consult the Andijan nobles and did not pay attention to the above proposal. Upon the siege of the fort of Akshi by Sultan Mahmud, the elder khan of the Mongols, some of the begs such as Wais Laghari and Mir Ghiyas Tughai surrendered the fort of Hasan and later joined the enemy near Akshi. [7] While the younger nobles of Babur's father [8] led by Jahangir Mirza and others strongly defended the fort and gave great resistance to the invaders. [9] They

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4 B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, P.30.
5 Yusuf Hussain, Two studies in Early Mughal History, Indian Institute of Advanced study, Shimla, 1976; P.40.
6 B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, P. 30.
7 Ibid , P.31.
8 See Appendix -I; B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, PP. 24-28.
9 B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, P.31.

unanimously showed their intentions to devote their lives for the sake of Babur. [10]

In order to create problem to Babur, Abu Bakr Kashghari the ruler of Kashghar and Khotan decided to create confusion in the Kingdom of Farghana. But his move did not frighten Babur and his supporters along with other nobles were sent to drive away the invaders.[11] At this moment some of the nobles such as Khwaja-i-Maulana Qazi, Hasan and Qasim Quchin these three Andijani nobles wanted to protect Babur's interests at Andijan. [12]

While Ali Darwesh Beg, Mirza Quli Kukaldash, Muhammad Baqir Beg and Shaikh Abdullah took the fort of Akshi for Babur's brother Jahangir Mirza. On the other hand Wais Laghari, Mirza Ghiyas and others took Nasir Mirza with them to Kasan. They subsequently joined Sultan Mahmud Khan in his expedition to Akshi. After sometime relations between Mir Ghiyas Taghai and Wais Laghari became uncordial with the result that the former joined Sultan Mahmud Khan's service and the latter took Nasir Mirza to Sultan Ahmad Mirza and joined his service. [13]

Asian Daulat Begum, Babur's grand-mother in whose hands remained the real power and the control of affairs and whose sound

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[10] F.G. Talbot, op.cit, P.7.
[11] Khwandmir, Habib-us siyar, III, P. 273.
[12] B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, p. 31.
[13] Ibid.

advice contributed to the maintenance of the administration. At her suggestion; Hasan the son of Yaqub was appointed to the government of Andijan and to the main gate of the fort. Qasim Quchin was put in charge of the administration of Aush; Auzun Hasan was given the command of Akshi and Marghinan was assigned to Ali Dost Tughai. Babur relates that three nobles who had served loyally during this critical period, "were given districts (vilayats) or land (yir) or office (Mauja) or charge (Jiga) or stipend (wajh), each according to his rank and status". [14]

Shortly after the death of Sultan Ahmad Mirza, the nobles of Samarqand began to resent against Mahmud Mirza to his dominance. Their leader Malik Muhammad Mirza, who was the son of Minuchihra Mirza made an unsuccessful attempt to seize power but he was made captive along with other Mirzas and sent to Kuk Sarai. [15] Although Malik Muhammad Mirza was Sultan's first cousin and his son–in- law too but he did not spare him. Muhammad Mirza was executed along with one other conspirator. The other three Mirzas who were involved in the plot were thrown into prison.[16]

Confident of his success Sultan Mahmud Mirza sent Abdul Quddus Beg to Babur's court to win over Hasan-i-yaqub, who was as a protector and received the government of Andijan. Abdul Quddus Beg came at

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[14] Ibid, PP. 32; Rushbrook William, An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century, S. Chand and Co.; Delhi, 1918. P.34 ; Radhey Shyam, Babur, Patna, 1978, P.36.
[15] Ibid, P. 41.
[16] Ibid, P.42.

Andijan with the ostensible object of presenting to the prince of Farghana the precious gifts of gold and silver which he had brought from his master in connection with the marriage celebrations of his eldest son Masud Mirza with Saliha Sultan the second daughter of the late Sultan Ahmad Mirza, the ruler of Samarqand. [17] It is alleged that messenger had entered into a treasonable understanding with the protector. Subsequently the manners of Hasan yaqub underwent a visible change. He began to behave badly towards Babur's well-wishers. [18]

Towards the end of 1494, Hasan Yaqub planned to dethrone Babur and raise his younger brother Jahangir Mirza to the kingly dignity. In order to implement his project, he secured the support of the disaffected nobles like Muhammad Baqir Beg, Sultan Muhammad Duldai and his father. But before he could start the trouble, a few of the loyal and devoted nobles of Babur observed his hidden plans in his conversations with them. [19]

Therefore some of the nobles such as Khwaja Qazi, Qasim Quchin and Ali Dost Tughai immediately informed Baburs grand mother Asian Daulat Begum to the plot. She took up the responsibility to deal with the conspirators. In this respect a meeting of loyalists was held in her presence. She sent Babur along with other trustworthy begs from the

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[17] Ibid, P.43.
[18] William Erskin, History of India under the two first sovereign of the house of Timur, Babur and Humayun, I, London, 1854. P.91.
[19] B.N. tr. Beveridge. I, P. 44.

gate-house of the outer fort towards the citidal to siege Hasan Yaqub and his supporters. On the news of this, Hasan immediately started for Samarqand to invite the active cooperation of Sultan Mahmud Mirza. Babur sent a body of men to kill him but the traitor was killed by his own partisans. [20]

About this time also Ibrahim Saru, the governor of the fort of Asfera rebelled and read the Khutba in the name of Baisunger Mirza, the son of Sultan Mahmud Mirza who had succeeded to the throne of the Samarqand. In order to recover the fort from Ibrahim Saru, Babur's men like Khudai Birdi Beg and several other young braves lost their lives. Subsequently, Ibrahim Saru surrendered the fort and submitted "with his sword and quiver hanging from his neck," to Babur. He was pardoned and taken into service. [21]

As Babur was watching the affair of Samarqand with great interest. Like his father before him, his earliest dreams had been connected with the city, associated with the glory and greatness of Amir Timur. By the greatest part of the nobles, Babur ascended the thrown of Samarqand and was proclaimed King. [22] So in view of this victory, Qasim Duldai, Wais Laghari, Muhammad Saghawal's grandson Hasan and Muhammad Wais deserted Sultan Baisunghar Mirza and joined Babur. Though Babur was

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[20] Ibid; Rushbrook Williams, op.cit, P.26.
[21] T.F. tr. Briggs, II, P.7; Erkine, I, op.cit , P.93.
[22] Rushbrook Williams, op.cit, P.43.

unwilling to take them in his service because of their unreliable conduct, crude manners and greedy nature. [23]

But shortly after Babur's followers became discontented and began to disperse. [24] The desertion was followed by the untrustworthy Mongol nobles among them was Bayam Quli's son Khan Quli. He was followed by Ibrahim Begchik and other nobles with their followers to Akshi where they joined Jahangir Mirza, the brother of Babur. Sultan Ahmad Tambal who had the highest rank in the Mughal nobility at Andijan, also left him and came back home. They demanded to confer on Jahangir the province of Andijan.[25]

In order to stop this large scale defection, Babur sent Khwaja Qazi, a sincere and faithful friend to Auzun Hasan who had been left behind to control the affairs of Andijan. He was directed to persuade him to act in concert with him and punish the deserters and send them back to Samarqand. [26] Ali Dost Taghai and Maulana Qazi, the two chieftains in possession of Andijan, however sent assurances of their fidelity to Babur and protested against Jahangir Mirza's threat. [27] But Auzun Hasan made common cause with the deserters joined Sultan Ahmad Tambal and decided to make trouble for Babur. [28]

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23 B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, PP. 72-73.
24 T.F. tr. Briggs, II, P.8.
25 B.N. Beveridge, I, P.P. 72-73.
26 Ibid, P.80.
27 T.F. tr. Briggs, 11, P.9.
28 B.N., tr. Bevridge, I, P. 88.

At this crisis, both Auzun Hasan and Sultan Ahmad Tambal demanded that Andijan and Akshi should be handed over to Jahangir Mirza, Babur's brother. When their proposal was rejected, they invited all those timid fugitives to join them. They openly became hostile and rebellious. Tulun Khwaja, who was raised to the rank of beg was seized and killed. The loyal defenders were under Ali Dost Tughai who at this time sent urgent messages to Samarqand. They are capturing in this way "if at our cry of distress you do not come, things will go all to ruin. Samarqand was taken by the strength of Andijan; if Andijan is in your hands, God willing, Samarqand can be had again." [29]

Unfortunately due to the false news of Babur's death given by conspirator Ali Dost Tughai handed over Andijan to Jahangir Mirza who ascended the throne and caused the Khutba to be read in his name. [30] The insurgents began to harass the supporters. They indulged in uncontrolled severities. They seized Khwaja-i-Maulana Kazi and the people who loved him so much was hanged at the gate of citadel. His family and dependants were also seized and plundered. The death of Khwaja and the loss of Andijan caused much grief to Babur. [31]

On the other hand, on his departure from Samarqand, Babur's partisans lost heart. Upon this his enemies invited his cousin Ali Mirza

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[29] Ibid.
[30] T.F., tr. Briggs, II, P.9.
[31] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.89.

from Bukhara and handed the town to him. At this moment Babur says that, " in anxiety for Andijan, we had given Samarqand out of hands; then heard we have lost Andijan." His capital and hereditary dominions were now in the hands of a hostile faction led by Sultan Ahmad Tambal and Auzun Hasan, who governed in the name of his brother Jahangir Mirza. His trustworthy begs deserted him because of their desertion, Babur virtually became a fugitive in his own country. [32]

At this critical juncture, Quchin was sent to Tashkent to persuade the Khan to march against Andijan. But soon after Khwaja Abul Mukaram and Beg Tilba, the Lord of the Gate and Tambal's elder brother convinced the Khan to withdraw his country. Thus once more the Mughal nobles succeeded in crushing Babur's plan of joint invasion on Andijan. [33]

On this occasion Babur's own begs were creating trouble partly because of their uncertain future and partly due to the fact that families of most of the nobles were still in Andijan. Out of the seven or eight hundred of his begs, who left Babur, the most important were such as Ali Darvesh Beg, Ali Mazid Quchin, Muhammad Baqir Beg, Shaikh Abdullah and Mirim Laghari. About this time, only two hundred to three

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[32] Ibid, P.90.
[33] Ibid, P. 91.

hundred men to share his miseries and hardships during the course of his wanderings. [34]

At the end of 1498, in order to attack Samarqand, Sultan Mahmud Khan was requested to help him. [35] This time the Khan gave his consent to assist him. But upon the approach of Shaibani Khan, he failed to accomplish anything. On this occasion Babur remarks, "as there was in me ambition for rule and desire of conquest, I did not sit to gaze, when once or twice an affair had made no progress." After some days the Elder Khan appointed Sayyid Muhammad Hasan Doughlat and Ayub Begchik and Jan Hasan Barim with 7000 to 8000 men to help Babur. [36]

At Auratipa, Babur was invited by personal servant of Ali Dost Taghai to hand over the fort of Marghinan. He assured him of his fidelity and loyalty in future.[37] As Babur welcomed the messenger and accepted the proposal. Wais Beg and others persuaded Babur not to trust Ali Dost Taghai due to his earlier treacherous act by surrendering the citadel of Andijan. Despite of this, Ali Dost Taghai was admitted and his followers were admitted in the fort of Marghinan. He paid obeissance to Babur and he was provided a suitable house in that walled town.[38]

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid, P.92.
[37] Ibid, P.99.
[38] Ibid, P.100.

After knowing Babur's success in getting possession of Marghinan, Auzun Hasan and Tambal called every man in Andijan and Akshi who was able to bear arms. They took Jahangir Mirza along with them and proceeded to Marghinan to create trouble for Babur. [39]

After the victory over Andijan, Nasir Beg and his two sons, Dost Beg and Mirim Beg welcomed Babur and paid obeisance. Further the fort of Akshi was captured and Babur accepted the terms to leave Auzun Hasan's family. Qasim-i-Ajab, formerly an officer of the house hold troops was promoted to rank of Beg or noble and was appointed governor of Akshi.[40]

Babur disliked the Mongols from the very beginning. He expressed his feelings against them by remarking that, " these were the men who in the throneless times had captured and plundered various Musalman dependents of my own and of the Khwaja------- what loyalty have they shown to their own (Mughal) begs that they should be loyal to us." Despite this he was forced to welcome them. [41]

An order was issued to forbid the Mongols to plunder the inhabitants of Farghana by Babur. But Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan and Muhammad Doghlat Hisari refused to comply with this order and raised the standards of rebellion and sent a man to Sultan Ahmad Tambal

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[39] Ibid, P.117.
[40] Ibid PP. 103-104; T.F. tr. Briggs, II, P.12.
[41] Ibid, P.105.

and Jahangir Mirza offering their services to them. [42] So far the Mughals had rebelled five times against Babur. Each rebellion gave him a set back. Upon the receipt of the news of the rebellion the Begs held consultations. [43]

After the battle of Saqa, the nobles of Tambal were made captive and their heads were cut off on the advice of Ali Dost Taghai. On the following day, Shah Sultan Begam and Babur's grandmother came from Andijan with the intention of securing pardon for Jahangir Mirza, if he had been made captive. But she found that Sultan Ahmad Tambal and Jahangir Mirza had fled to Auzkint. [44]

While the siege was in progress, Sayyid Yusuf, the headman of two villages of Macham and Awighur raised the rebellion and joined Sultan Ahmad Tambal with a number of Mughal clams-men and tribes men. He helped him in getting him out from the port of Archian. At this time, Babur's two most influential nobles, Ali Dost Taghai and Qambar Ali brought the proposal for peace with Ahmad Tambal. They were motivated by selfish designs and urged by the ambition of keeping the reins of power into their own hands. [45]

At this juncture, the nobles in order to reduce Babur's absolutism and independence insisted upon the division of the territory of Farghana

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[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid, P.113.
[45] Erskine, op.cit., I, P. 125.

between Babur and his brother Jahangir Mirza, They proposed that the Akshi side of the river was to belong to the younger, the Andijan side to the elder, with the provision that when Babur regained Samarqand he would relinquish his claim over both Andijan and Akshi and would hand them over to his brother. [46]

The above arrangement was not Babur's liking and he was deeply annoyed with it. Though he accepted it because at this critical moment of his life he could not get the enough support of his feudatories and Begs. He writes in his memoirs, "I and my well wishers had no knowledge of peace and we all were utterly averse from the project. Those two minikins, however were our two great begs; if we did not make any peace other things from them were probable." [47]

As a result of the treaty, they released prisoners of war. On the other hand, Babur set free Khalil and others; robes of honour were put on them and leave to go was given while Jahangir Mirza and Sultan Ahmad Tambal in their turn set free Babur's most important commanders and household troops such as Sherim Taghai Beg, Muhammad Dost, Mir Shah Quchin, Sayyid Qara Beg, Qasim-i-Ajab, Mr Wais, Mirim Dewan and many others. [48]

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[46] Ibid, P.126; B.N., tr. Bevridge I, P.119.
[47] B.N. tr. Beveridge. I, P. 118; Erskine, op.cit, I, P.126.
[48] Ibid, P.119.

In view of the success in undergoing a compromise between the two brothers, Ali Dost Taghai changed his mind. As a governor of Andijan, he made himself absolute and began to behave in a most reckless manner. Relying upon the support of Sultan Ahmad Tambal, he made attempts to establish his control over Babur's household. He dismissed Nizamuddin Khalifa. He seized and plundered Ibrahim Saru and Wais Laghari, deprived of their districts and dismissed them. Those above important nobles harassed by Ali Dost Taghai were basically trust worthy and they had shared many hardships with Babur. He also compelled Qasim Beg to go elsewhere. [49]

At this critical moment, Ali Dost's son Muhammad Dost went to the extent that he set himself on a royal footing, started receptions and a public table and a court and work shops after the fashions of the sultans. Both father and his son set themselves up in this improper way because they were backed by Tambal. This attitude proved humiliating to Babur's pride, but he showed remarkable endurance. In despair, Babur writes "our position was singularly delicate not a word was said but many humiliations were endured --------."[50]

On the other hand, Muhammad Mazid Tarkhan an officer of Sultan Ali Mirza ruler of Samarqand developed hostile relations with his master. He sent Mir Mughal son of Abdul Wahab shaghawal to Babur offering

[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

him the throne of Samarqand. Under constraint and without influence in his court Babur accepted the proposal. Upon his arrival to Khan-i-yurti, the samarqandi Begs under Muhammad Mazid Tarkhan paid their obeisance to him. Khwaja Qutubuddin yahiya assured khwaja Muhammad Ali to surrender the town who was an agent of Babur.[51]

In the meantime, Sultan Muhammad Duldai one of his trustworthy begs, fled from his camp and informed Sultan Ali and informed Ali about the proposed attack which was to be delivered with the connivance of the Khwaja Qutubuddin Yahya and his followers. [52]

At Dar-i-Gham Babur admitted some of his old nobles such as Ibrahim Saru, Muhammad Yusuf and others who had been driven away from Andijan by his prime minister Ali Dost. Some days after, also Ali Dost Taghai and his son joined Babur and became offended because of the presence of their old enemies in the camp. So they took leave and joined hands with Sultan Ahmad Tambal. [53]

After the surrender of Samarqand to Shaibani in 1501, Babur was joined by Muhammad Mazid Tarkhan and the Samarqandi Begs along with their wives and families and dependents on the way to Hissar. But on his arrival at Chaghnian the Samarqandi Begs and Muhammad Mazid Tarkhan deserted and entered the service of Khusrau Shah, the powerful

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51 T.F. tr. Briggs, 11, P.14.
52 B.N., tr. Bevridge, I, P.124.
53 Ibid, P.125.

ruler of Hissar and left Babur with his few remaining followers to depend on his own exertions. Similarly, Sher Ali and Quch Beg deserted him and went to Hissar. [54]

As regards Malik of Fam who did not give him a warm reception and did not show him hospitality as he had shown to Sultan Masud Mirza, Sultan Hussain Mirza and Sultan Basunger Mirza. But the Malik sent to him only a second rate horse. He did not wait upon him. In this situation, Babur records his mental anguish by writing that "those renowned for liberality became misers where they had to do with me." [55]

During this period, Shaibani's absence from Samarqand and the dissatisfaction of the local population were manipulated by Khwaja Abdul Mukarram who invited Babur to intervene. At yar-i-yilaq, Babur was joined by Khwaja Mukarram and other fugitives for negotiation. About the same time Abul Qasim Kohbur, Qambar Ali and Ibrahim Tarkhan also deserted the Uzbeks and promised to assist him in conquering Samarqand.[56]

After capturing Samarqand second time, Babur in order to crush Shaibani urged his Timurid Kinsmen to send assistance. In this respect from his own hereditary Kingdom which was now in the hands of Jahangir Mirza and Sultan Ahmad Tambal came only a hundred men.

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[54] Ibid, PP. 128-129; Erskine, op.cit., I, P. 141.
[55] Ibid, P. 130.
[56] Ibid.

Sultan Mahmud Khan, the Elder Khan of the Mongols and his maternal uncle sent him only four to five hundred soldiers from Tashkend. Sultan Hussain Mirza Baiqara the ruler of Khorasan, the most powerful amongst the Timurides and his son Badiuz-Zaman Mirza of Balkh and Khusrau Shah, the ruler of Qunduz did not extend him any assistance. [57]

While on the other hand, Baqi Tarkhan whom Shaibani Khan had reduced to narrow joined Babur with 1000 to 2000 mend and Sayyid Muhammad Mirza Doghlat had been sent by his maternal uncle Sultan Mahmud, the Elder Khan of the Mongols to assist him with 1000 to 2000 men.[58]

Some of the nobles of Babur such as Ibrahim Tarkhan, Ibrahim Saru, Ibrahim Jani, Abdul Qasim Kohbur, Khudai Birdi, Tughchi, Khalid and other were killed in the battle with Shaibani Khan. Several of them like Muhammad Tarkhan and Kambar Ali, fled to Hissar to join Khusrau Shah. [59] Many of his intimates deserted his fortunes altogether. Some of them like Qasim Dad-Khudai Birdi Turkman, Janaka Kokultash, Mulla Baba Pashagharhi were fled to Auratipa. Whereas Sherim Taghai and his sons only offered half hearted support and did not hesitate in playing a double role. [60]

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[57] Ibid, P.136.
[58] Khwandmir, op.cit. , III, Pt. III, P.308; B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.138.
[59] B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, PP. 138-142.
[60] Arminus Vambary, History of Bokhara, Arno Press, Newyork, 1873, PP.225-255.

Simultaneously, envoys and messengers had been sent repeatedly to all sides and quarters for help, but none came. Babur complains, "Sultan Hussain Mirza gave us not even the half of an encouraging message," but on the contrary sent an envoy, Kamaluddin Guzerghani to Shaibani. Babur's position was now helpless and his men began to desert. At this critical condition Auzun Hasan the chief instigator of the rebellion of Jahangir Mirza came with 10 to 15 of his men to create dissensions, sedition and dispoyalty in the garrison. The nobles among the famine strichen population led by Pir Wais, Shaikh Wais and Wais Laghari took to flight. [61]

At Dizak where Tahir, the son of Hafiz Muhammad Duldai welcomed Babur. At the same time Babur requested Muhammad Hussain Mirza Doghlat to assign some places who agreed to give him the village of Dikhkat situated near Auratipa but when Mirza came back after meeting his uncle Mahmud Khan, Hussain Doughlat refused to give him the town. [62]

It was on this occasion Qasim Beg suggested to Babur to take a chance to conciliate Sultan Ahmad Tambal and Jahangir Mirza by sending befitting gifts to them. Babur accepted his suggestion and sent his own ermine Capas gift for Jahangir Mirza, now the ruler of Farghana.

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[61] B.N. tr. Beverdige, I, P.147; T.F. tr. Briggs, II, P.13.
[62] Ibid, P.148.

For Sultan Ahmad Tambal, Babur sent a large sword which Nuyun Kukuldash had made for himself at Samarqand. [63]

While resolving to pay another visit to his maternal uncle to request him to extend him assistance. But Qasim Beg refused to accompany him to Tashkant and went Hissar with all his brothers and following. [64] After coming to Uratipa, Babur was received kindly and promised to give the place but later he was neglected. Sultan Ahmad Tambal after knowing Babur's arrival at the court of Sultan Mahmud Khan, the Elder Khan decided to invade Tashkand. On this occasion Muhammad Doghlat his younger brother Hussain and Qambar Ali at Babur's instance conspired to put him to death. With the disclosure of secret the conspirators fled to Tashkand to join Babur. [65]

After the invasion by Sultan Ahmad Tambal on Auratipa, Khan Quli, Sultan Muhammad Wais and Ahmadi Qasim Kohbur deserted Babur and joined the former. So much so upon joining his uncle in Tashkand with his followers due to Shaibani's raid Babur found that his uncle did not make any attempt against the enemy. While Sultan Mahmud Khan returned home leaving him frustrated and disappointed.

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[63] Ibid, P.150.
[64] Ibid, 155.
[65] Eskine, op.cit, I, P.165.

This move of the Khan's he says, "was rather unprofitable to take no part, to beat no foe, he went out and went back". [66]

While at Tashkand royal historian writers about Babur, " I endured much poverty and humiliations. I possessed no government nor had I hope of acquiring any. Most of my servants had left me from absolute want; the few who still adhered to me were unable to accompany me on my journeys from sheer poverty, when I want to my uncle the Khans Diwan, I was attended some time by one person, some times by two; but I was fortunate in one respect, that this happen among strangers but with my own Kinsmen. [67]

At Aush, the hordes and the high and low land tribes of the southern and eastern Andijan offered submission and joined his standards. The people of Auzkint, the former capital of Farghana also sent a messenger to inform him of their submission and willingness to tender allegiance. [68]

Some days after the people of Marghinan in a similar fashion expelled Sultan Ahmad Tambal's garrison, defeated and chased the darogha and declared for Babur. Meanwhile he also received encouraging messages from the people of Andijan. [69] Many brave and

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[66] B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, P.157.
[67] Erskine, op.cit , I.P. 166; F.G. Talbot, op.cit , P.68.
[68] B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, 161.
[69] Ibid .

experienced nobles like Nasir Beg, Muhammad Ali Mubashir, Khwaja Ali, Khusrau Kokuldash were lost their lives. [70]

While making success in reducing all the forts of south of the Khujand river except Andijan, Mahmud Khan proposed Babur to hand over all his conquests to Ahmad Khan. In return Babur would get Samarqand after Shaibani's overthrow but Farghana would be retained by the Khan. Although Babur did not like these terms but his condition was so desperate that he accepted them. [71]

On the contrary, Qambar Ali advised Babur to reject the above terms and make peace with Sultan Ahmad Tambal, divide the country between himself and the former and expelled the Mughals. Babur did not accept this suggestion saying, " the Khans are my blood relations; better serve them than rule for Tambal." When Babur wanted to plan an offensive against Sultan Ahmad Tambal, then Qambar Ali did not like and deserted him and left for Andijan to join Sultan Ahmad Tambal. [72]

The aforesaid desertion of Qambar Ali did not affect Babur's position in any way. Some days later he was joined by Ayyub Begchik and Jan Hasan Birim with their tumans, 1000 to 2000 men in all. [73] At this moment Shaikh Bayazid who was in Akshi made a show of interest and sent a confidential messenger earnestly inviting Babur to repair that

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[70] Ibid, P.168.
[71] Ibid, PP.169-70.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid, P.177.

city. The motive behind this invitation was to detach Babur by any device from the Khans. It was done by an understanding with his elder brother Sultan Ahmad Tambal's guidance. While informing this development to Khans, they advised to depart and seize Shaikh Bayazid one way or other. But Babur rejected their advice. [74]

On the other hand Sultan Ahmad Tambal had sent his elder brother Beg Tilba to Shaibani Khan with proffer of service and invitation to enter Farghana.[75] Upon the arrival of Shaibani Khan to extend support to Ahmad Tambal against the siege of Andijan, the two Khans abandoned the siege of Andijan. They became now the weaker party and could not give Babur any military support and fled away. At this time Babur's brother Jahangir, the nominal sovereign of Farghana under Sultan Ahmad Tambal escaped from Tambal's camp at Marghinan and joined him. [76]

Shaikh Bayazid, the younger brother of Tambal, Qambar Ali and Dost Muhammad came to Babur to open negotiations of peace on behalf of Sultan Ahmad Tambal. Babur conducted the envoys to his father's tomb and sat down in the southern portico to settle the terms. He also invited Jahangir Mirza to join the discussion who came with Ibrahim Chapuk with a secret plan to sieze Shaikh Bayazid. [77]

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[74] F.G. Talbot, op.cit., P.68.
[75] B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, P.177.
[76] Erskine, op.cit. , I, P.176.
[77] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P. 178.

In this situation some of Babur's begs also advised him to seize Shaikh Bayazid to occupy Akshi and trust to his own strength and good fortune. He objected this proceeding as to contrary to his good faith. [78] It is also alleged that Jahangir Mirza wanted to create dissension amongst his noble with regard to give chance to make an offensive to Sultan Ahmad Tambal.[79] Jahangir was entrusted one side of the town and attached some of Babur's men since Mirza's followers were very large in number. [80]

Shaibani's capture of Farghana in which the Khans had been taken prisoners and Babur was compelled to wander as a fugitive and an outlaw. In all his wanderings he was accompanied by his mother, some individuals of his family and house hold and by a few faithful followers who adhered to him during all his misfortunes. [81]

At this crisis, Sherim Taghai began to think of leaving him. He was rather unmanly and several times took the same step.[82] At the same time, Baki Beg repeatedly and with much earnest expressed his sentiments that two sovereign in one country and two generals in one army was an unfailing source of confusion and ruin. So in this respect he urged Babur to send away Jahangir Mirza. [83]

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[78] Rushbrook Williams, op.cit. , PP.69-70; Erskine, op.cit., I, P.176.
[79] B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, P.178.
[80] F.G. Talbot, op.cit. , P. 78.
[81] Erskine, op.cit. , I, P.189.
[82] F.G. Talbot, op.cit. , P.90.
[83] Ibid, PP. 90-91.

At Turuz, Amir Muhammad Bakir did not like the ascendancy of the Uzbeks and joined Babur's alliance. Babur was received by him with great kindness. He assisted him also with money. He also advised him to pursue his fortune elsewhere and move his attention to Kabul which was now in a state of anarchy.[84] On this occasion after Jahangir Mirza's flight to Khurasan, Babur appealed to Sultan Hussain Mirza Baiqara to lead the surviving Timurides against Shaibani Khan and protect them from the disaster. In spite of accepting his proposal Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara sent him a strongly worded message that he would defer to remain on the defensive. [85]

Even at Hissar, Khusrau Shah became unkind towards Babur and resented him on the borders of his Kingdom.[86] Baqichaghaniani, the younger brother of Khurasan Shah whose relations with his brother were not cordial, who had sent a messenger to Babur to assure him of his readiness to join him and enter an alliance with him. [87] Babur welcomed him, held discussions and invited him to join him at Tirmiz with his army. Thereafter, Baqi Chaghaniani joined with his family and belonging and went with him upto Kahmard and Bamiyan. [88]

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[84] T.F. , tr. Briggs, II, P.15.
[85] B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, PP. 187-88.
[86] T.R , tr. Denisson Ross, II, P.175.
[87] B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, P.189.
[88] Ibid .

On the way to Ajar, Yar Ali Balal joined who was accompanied by many soldiers. The arrival of the Persian army under Yar Ali was not liked by Qambar Ali so he deserted Babur. [89] At the same place Babur received letters from Sultan Hussain Mirza Baiqara, the ruler of Khorasan seeking his support and cooperation against Shaibani Khan. Also another messenger came in Babur's camp inviting him and Khusrau Shah to make plan of defence. [90]

It was about this time that he dismissed Qambar Ali Beg who had joined him again and appointed Baqi Chaghaniani as his chief adviser.[91]

Khusrau Shah who had fled from Kunduz due to Shaibani's arrival sent his son in law Ayub to make professions of submission and allegiance provided that if Babur would enter into terms with him he would come and submit himself. However, on the recommendation of Baqi Chaghaniani, a compromise was made on the condition that Khusrau's life should be spared and his property should be left entirely to his own disposal. [92]

Following the above agreement Khusrau Shah waited upon Babur in pomp and splendour with a large number of his followers. His Mughal clans afterwards came and joined Babur with their families. [93] Upon

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[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid , P.191.
[91] Ibid, P.193.
[92] Ibid ,F.G. Talbot, op.cit., PP.91-92.
[93] Ibid

Khusrau Shah's presence before Babur, Mirza Khan a younger brother of the cruelly treated Mirza's requested that he might be put to death, because of his treatment of his two brothers. [94]

The emperor whose natural disposition was a humane one, said to Mirza, "It would be a pity, a thousand pities, to compare two good angels with this devil of King and to such purpose did he pierce the pearls of love with the diamond of mercy, that at last he caused Mirza Khan to desist from his demand and be satisfied." [95]

While Khusrau Shah looked upon Babur and Mirza Khan he became ashamed but Babur forgave him. Besides this, he was allowed to collect his belongings and go to Khurasan. Although Babur was very needy but he did not take any of the presents and gave him back all his arms and treasures. He also refused to take all that was offered. Sherim Taghai was ordered to escort him to some distance. [96]

After the departure of Khusrau Shah, Baqi Chaghniani also advised Babur to send Jahangir Mirza to Khurasan. Though Baqi had given him sincere advice but Babur refused to comply with his suggestion.[97]

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[94] T.R., tr. Denisson Ross, 11, P.176.
[95] Ibid.
[96] F.G. Talbot, op.cit., PP. 185, 196.
[97] B.N. tr. Beverdige, I, P.194; T.R. tr. Denisson Ross, II, P.176.

II. KABUL

After Muqim Beg Arghun's defeat from Babur, he was received with kindness and allowed to leave with his family, retainers and property. Babur appointed Jahangir Mirza and Nasir Mirza to escort Muqim Arghun and his family out of Kabul.[1] At Ushtur Shahr, Muqim Beg Arghun's chief, Sherak Arghun was defeated and compelled to join the service of Babur.[2]

On the way towards Kabul various clans and tribes whom Khusrau Shah had left behind at Kunduz joined . Amongst them were the Mughals of various clans and the Hazaras. The Hazaras under Sayyidin Ali Darban, yusuf and Bahlul joined Babur. Some time later, Aimaks and the scattered troop's of Wali joined him and this added much to his power.[3]

At Kahmard, Khusrau Shah incited his nephew, Ahmad to harass Babur's family which was living there. Upon this, many Mughal families which had been under the control of Baqi Chaghniani decided to sieze and put them to death due to the disgraceful behaviour of Khusrau and Ahmad. Some how the plan was exposed so Khusrau Shah and his nephew took their flight. [4]

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[1] B.N., tr. Beveridge , I, PP. 197-199.
[2] Rushbrook William, An Empire Builder of the sixteen century, S. Chand, Delhi; 1918, P.79.
[3] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.197; F.G. Talbolt, Memoirs of Babur , Ess Publication; Delhi, 1974, P.196.
[4] Ibid .

With the overthrow of the Timurid and Mongol powers in Central Asia, those nobles who came and joined Babur's service at this moment, they were directly conferred the status of Beg. They were given an account of the assignments made by him after his occupation of Kabul. Baburnama gives information that Babur divided the Kingdom of Kabul among the Mirza's and mihman beglar. [5] Jahangir Mirza was given Ghazni and its dependencies while Nasir Mirza had the district of Ningnahar with some less important places. Some of the begs in their turn received villages to be held as fiefs.[6]

Babur further states that he favoured the mihman beglar and the mihman jigitlar more than the Andijani and Baburi and it was on this occasion not only favour them but whenever he was endowed with an opportunity did so. The mihman beglar referred to here with particularly the begs of Khusrau Shah who joined Babur after deserting the former a couple of years before Babur's occupation of Kabul.[7] At this moment Babur's nobility was not only vertically graded to ichki-beglar and beglar but the latter further can be divided as mihman beglar, Andijan beglar and the Baburi beglar. Each of these categories was composed of various racial tribal groups.[8]

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[5] A.R. Khan, 'Gradation of Nobility under Babur,' Islamic Culture, Vol. XI, No.1, Jan, 1986, P.87.
[6] Rusbrook William, op.cit., P.79; B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.227.
[7] A.R. Khan, op.cit, P.87.
[8] Ibid, P.88.

In Kabul, yar-i-Husain son of Darya Khan yar-i-Husain waited upon Babur and requested him to lead an expedition to Hindustan. At Jamrud, Babur consulted his nobles about crossing Indus but Baqi Chaganiani advised him to abandon his plan and lead his army towards Kohat. On the way to Kohat, the head man of the Gagrani Afghans waited upon him and did obeisance to him. [9]

In a short time afterwards, Abdul Razzak Mirza, the late sovereign of Kabul submitted to Babur and waited upon him. It was during the course of some expedition that the first signs of Baqichaganian's ambitious intentions began to appear. In this context he turned his eyes on Jahangir Mirza as a instrument for his purpose. So he proposed to him to allow himself to be set up against his brother who was to be seized and sent-across the Indus.[10] The other noble with Baqi were Sayyid Husain Akbar and Sultan Ali and Khusrau Shah's begs and braves. [11] Soon after the headman of the Kiwi tribe, Shadi Khan was forced to submit and acknowledge Babur's authority by Jahangir Mirza. The former appeared personally before and made obeisance to him. [12]

As Baqichanian has incited Jahangir Mirza to allow himself to be set up against his brother.But Jahangir Mirza refused to take the part

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[9] B.N, tr. Beveridge, I, P.230-31; A.N., tr. I, P.228.
[10] Erskine, op.cit. , I, PP. 233-225.
[11] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.239.
[12]. Ibid , P.233.

assigned to him and revealed the plot to his brother.[13] Babur praises about Jahangir Mirza's behaviour like a blood relation. [14] Baki, however, was too strong in the number of his own followers and had great influence in the army. At the same time Nasir Mirza, inspite following Babur as he had been ordered had crossed the Hindukush range and was engaged in operations on his own account in Badakhshan.[15] Simultaneously many deserted and joined Nasir Mirza who was preparing an army for Badkhshan to the north of the Hindukush in answer to the invitation of the nobles in revolt there against Shaibani.[16]

On the way at Tazi, Sher Ali and Kichik Beg Diwana and a few others made an attempt to desert Babur but they were arrested. Though Sher Tughai was put to death but the others were exempted.[17] After receiving the invitation Nasir Mirza set out without consulting Babur and joined with Khusrau Shah. Khusrau with his accustomed art tried to convince Nasir Mirza. The Badakhshan chiefs, had invited Nasir but were not disposed to receive Khusrau. [18]

When Khusrau Shah tried to besiege Kunduz, kambar Bi called to Khamzeh Sultan from Hisar who sent to his aid under the command of his sons. They attacked Khusrau, killed his nephew, Ahmad Kasim and

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[13] Erskine, op.cit. I, P.225.
[14] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.239.
[15] Erskine, op.cit. , I, PP. 225-226.
[16] Fernand Grenard, Babur, First of the Mughals, London, 1931, P.90; B.N, tr. Beveridge, I, PP. 242-50.
[17] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P. 249.
[18] Erskine op.cit. , P.227.

some of his best troops and easily defeated his handful of men. Khusrau Shah was himself taken prisoner. His head was soon after taken off in Kunduz and sent to Shaibani Khan in Khawarizm.[19]

Some of the nobles of Badakhshan headed by Mubarak Shah and Muhammad Korchi who acknowledged Nasir Mirza as King and under whose influence he governed that country for two or three years. Nasir Mirza did not however, long maintain his ascendancy in Badakhshan for long period. During this period Muhammad Korchi, Mubarak Shah and other Amirs who raised him to the throne offended with some of his proceedings and annoyed with the conduct of his favourites, rose in revolt against him. Nasir and his young advisers finally driven out of the country and again joined his brother Babur.[20]

After capturing the fort of Qalat, Muqim Beg Arghun's retainers Farrukh Arghun and Qara Balut came out of the fort and did obeisance to Babur. Both Jahangir Mirza and Baqi refused the offer to take the charge of the fort of Qalat.[21] For some time past, Babur had been on uncomfortable terms with him. He was basically thankful due to the assistance, in respect of his success in gaining over Khusrau's troops by means of which took the conquest of Kabul. In his memoirs, Babur complains that Baki was mean and sordid in the extent that he had thirty

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[19] Ibid, PP. 227-228.
[20] Ibid , PP. 228-229.
[21] B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, P.249.

thousand sheep along with him and when Babur's followers were starving, not a single did offer.[22]

It appears that inspite of acknowledging Babur, Baki's chief had negarates beaten at his own gate. He was sincere to none, had regard for none.[23] This was an unpardonable offence and being a mark of dignity in a royal camp is only confined to the sovereign. [24] As he was bestowed the duties which were the principal revenues of Kabul with the property tax levied from Hazaras. He was also made governor of Kabul, Penjshir as well as commander of the guards with the office of chief minister but he was not satisfied with all that. [25]

At this time Baqi Chaghaniani whose insolence was becoming quite intolerable. That noble man was asked to retire. By accepting his resignation, the astonished minister there upon reminded his master of a promise that until nine faults had been committed, no action should be taken against him. Babur replied by sending a list of eleven offences, all undeniably serious. Baqi, then realized that the game was up and retired with his family and property. On the way he fell into the hands of yar-i-Husain who made the whole party captive, seized his belongings and put him and his wife to death. [26]

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[22] Erskine, op.cit. I, P.229.
[23] B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, P.250.
[24] Erskine, op.cit, I, P.229.
[25] Ibid ; B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.250.
[26] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.250-3; Erskine, op.cit., I, P.231.

Jahangir Mirza, the worthless youngman, who was already a confirmed drunkard, suddenly resolved to quit Babur and seek his fortune elsewhere.[27] He was persuaded by Ayub's sons, yusuf and Bahlul, the two Mughal leader. At their instigation, he fled from Kabul to Ghazni. He took possession of the fort of Nani, killed some of its people and plundered all of them. He travelled through the Hazara country to join the Mughal clans who had deserted Nasir Mirza. He had also tried to persuade them to espouse his cause. [28] This step gave Babur a great concern for anxiety. So before going to Herat with a light horsemen , he made a sudden raid, caught Jahangir unknowingly and informed him that his forces run away. [29]

Soon after Sayyid Afzal son of Sayyid Ali Khwaja as the emissary of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, the ruler of Khurasan invited Babur to join him in a concerted attack on Shaibani Khan.[30] Babur immediately responded to the call. He writes that "if there were some who went or foot, it was for us to go if on our heads! If some took bludgeon we would take the stone."! [31]

In respect to this effect, he sent Sayyid Afzal and Sultan Muhammad Duldai to the court of Sultan Hussain Baiqara to inform him

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27 Rushbrook Williakms, op.cit., P.84.
28 B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, P.254-55.
29 Rushbrook Williams, op.cit., P.84.
30 B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.225.
31 Ibid.

of his departure from Kabul. Meanwhile at Kahmard, he stopped the Aimak's and prevented them from joining Jahangir. Some days after Qasim Beg defeated and killed many of them. As a result, Aimaks came from the neighbouring hills and waited upon Babur. At the end Jahangir Mirza also came and offered submission.[32]

Being displeased with his brother, Babur gave no attention towards him. Upon the sieze of fort of Balkh, the Mirzas also sent emissaries to Babur to join them as early as possible. They also sent Muhammad Barandug Barlas to expedite his movements. The Mirzas received him with great pomp and with every kind of jubilance and festivity. [33] In spite of their assurance to make him comfortable, they as Babur complains, "gave me no winter quarters nor had any arrangement for me."[34]

Before his visit to Khorasan, Babur had visited his uncle Muhammad Hussain Mirza Doghlat, the husband of his mother's younger sister and had proposed to him to under take the management of Kabul and the rest of the Kingdom during his absence on the expedition. Mirza Muhammad Hussain respectfully refused the honour due to his promise to perform the pilgrimage of Mekka. Although he requested that if his

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[32] Ibid , PP.294-96.
[33] Ibid , PP.295-297; H.N., tr. P.87.
[34] Ibid , P.307; T.F , tr. Briggs, II, P.17.

Majesty appoint any of this great nobles to fulfill that duty, he would advise and assist them to the great extent of his ability.[35]

For the above purpose, Nizamuddin Khalif, Mulla Baba Bishaghari, Mir Ahmad Kasim Kohbur and some other of his confidential servants were introduced to him. After complementing the Mirza in the warmest manner, Babur expressed "Relying upon you, I am about to set out, these Amirs will save you the trouble of details by conducting the different departments under your general direction." After the strongest expressions of good will on both sides and of confidence on Mirza Hussain, Babur commenced his march to Khurasan. [36]

During Babur's prolonged absence from Kabul, the motherly love of Shah Begum began to increase in her heart and she persuaded herself that the Emperor had fallen into the hands of the Mirzas of Khorasan. She decided to raise her favourite grandson, Mirza Khan to the throne of Kabul. For this intention she won over a few of the Mughal chiefs who still treated her in great honour for she was the widow of Yunus Khan, the Khan of the Mughals and the mother of the two Khans. She also closed to her interests Sultan Sanjar Barlas, an important noble and her sister's son. When this plan suggested to Muhammad Mirza Hussain, he

[35] T.R., tr. E. Dension Ross, II, P.197.
[36] Ibid, P.197.

did not hear of it. He expressed, " As you will not warned by me, I will no longer be your adviser." [37]

As one month's bickering and quarrelling, Shah Begum resolved to set Mirza Khan up in Emperor's place. Then Hussain Mirza Doghlat said privately to the amirs that it was not necessary for them to come to him any more. When the Amirs re-entered the castle, Mirza Hussain deserted a place called Ab-Baran and with drew himself from public affairs. Subsequently Shah Begum and some Mughals read the Khutba in the name of Mirza Khan and did their best to seize the fort of Kabul. As Shah Begum sent a letter of requests to Muhammad Hussain Mirza so he thereafter joined to her in this conspiracy.[38]

After a sharp and confused skirmishes the rebels were completely dispersed and defeated by Mulla Baba Bishaghari, Khalifa, Mubib Ali Korchi, Ahmad Kasim and others of his gallant adherents. In a short time, some of the principal leaders of the rebels were seized. Sultan Sanjar Barlas was taken and dragged before Babur. He had been especially distinguished by Babur who had given him the valuable Tuman of Nangenhar. He in his great distress exclaimed, "what crime have I committed?" "And what greater crime can there be.," In response to this Babur replied that such a man of your importance conspired with rebels.[39]

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[37] Ibid., P.198.
[38] Ibid, PP. 198-199; Erskine, op.cit, I, PP. 249-250.
[39] Erskine, op.cit., I, P.252; A.N., tr. I, P.232-33.

Babur in conformity with his affectionate nature and with the great cheerfulness and good humour came into the presence of his step-grandmother Shah Begum who had withdrawn her affection from him. Shah Begum became confused at his generous behaviour and she was not in a position to say anything. Babur going down on his knees, embraced her with great affection. [40]

At this moment Babur expressed to her : "you have exerted your motherly affection and patronage on behalf of your children why should that or offend another of them. The mother's authority over her children is in all respects absolute." He further added, " I have not slept all night and have made a long journey. So saying he laid his head on Shah Begum's breast and tried to sleep; he acted thus in order to reassure the Begum. He had not yet fallen asleep when Mehr-Nigar Khanim, his mother's sister entered. He instantly leaped up, and most tenderly embraced his beloved aunt. The Khanim said to him; "your children, wives and family are longing to see you. I give thanks that I have been permitted to be hold you once more. Rise up and go to your family in the castle."[41]

Soon after Khanim brought Mirza Khan and Muhammad Hussain Doughlat before Babur. As they approached, the emperor came out to receive them. The Khanim pleaded for their pardon. When Babur saw

[40] T.R, tr. E. Denisson Ross, II, P.200.
[41] Ibid , P.200.

Muhammad Hussain, he immediately came forward with his courtesy and similarly, openly embraced him. He made kindly inquiries and showed him great affection. He then embraced Khan Mirza in the same manner and gave a greater proof of love and good feeling. Both Mirza Khan and Muhammad Hussain obtained permission to go to Kandhar. Shah Begum and the Khanim was detained with great request.[42]

About this time occurred the death of his brother Jahangir Mirza and the defeat and expulsion of Nasir Mirza who came to Kabul with seventy to eighty of his followers. Babur, upon his arrival treated him kindly and bestowed on him the government of Ghazni. [43]

The Arghun brothers, Shah Shuja Beg and Muqim Beg Arghun, the heirs of Zun-nun due to progress of Shaibani's success invited Babur to receive the submission of Qandhar and lead or joint expedition against the Uzbegs. Babur did ot hesitate to accept the offer. In this situation the two brothers repeatedly sent ambassadors to Babur with letters containing with humble professions of service and submission. Muqim, in one of these letters, explicitly called upon him to be quick to his assistance. [44]

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[42] Ibid , P.201; Erskine, op.cit. , I, P.257; A.N., tr. I, P.233; H.N., tr. P.59.
[43] T.F., tr. Briggs, II, P.27; B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, PP.321-322; T.R. , tr.II, P.302.
[44] Erskine, op.cit. I, P.275.

On the march towards Kandhar, Babur was joined at Ghazni by numbers of fugitives and by some of the females of the royal house of Herat. Among those such as Habiba Sultan Begum, Khusrau Kokultash, Sultan Kulichunaq and Gadai Balal who had fled in the wake of Shaibani Khan's invasion and joined. Khan Mirza and Abdur Razzaq Mirza his cousins, who had both lately been his rivals and sat on the thro neof Kabul joined him. [45]

In the meanwhile he sent envoys and letters to the Arghun brothers but they gave rude and ill-mannered answer. One of their incivities was that Shah Beg stamped his letter to Babur in the middle of its reverse, where begs seal if writing begs, where indeed a great beg seals if writing one of the lower circle. [46]

During this period Babur tried again to discuss with the Arghuns but the policy of these Arghun brothers had undergone an important change inspite of all his assurances and promises. [47] They maintained the same abstinate and perverse attitude. [48] This refusal led to an outbreak of hostilities.[49] Shah Beg sent an embassy to Shaibani giving the submission of the Arghuns and offering on their part to read the public prayer and strike the coin in his name. In response to this, Shaibani Khan became

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[45] Ibid , P.277.
[46] B.N., tr. Beverdige, I, PP. 330-332.
[47] Erskine, op.cit. , I, P.277.
[48] B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, P.332.
[49] T.R. , tr, E. Denisson Ross, II, P.202.

ready to acknowledge his sovereignty and accepted their submission. To Babur's requisition they showed that they had no intension of submitting to him as their lawful lord. On contrary, they treated him as an equal. [50]

Baburnama gives references of several nobles who fought against Shah Beg and Muqim Beg who supported Babur. [51] Despite their racial complications, family feuds and their heterogeneous character, the Mughals, the Chaghtais and Turkomans tribes acted in most disciplined manner. [52] After the defeat of the Arghun brother's, Qandhar was bestowed to Nasir Mirza as compensation for the loss of Badakhshan and then Muqim's daughter, Mah Begum was made as a hostage.[53] Muqim after his defeat retired to Zamindawar and invited Shaibani to his help.[54]

After the victory on Qandhar by Shaibani Khan, Babur summoned his amirs to consult before taking final decision. Qasim Beg and Sherim Tughai suggested that 'he should go to Badakshah, while several of his other nobles preferred going Hindustan.'[55] Upon his return to Kabul, Babur bestowed Ghazni to Nasir Mirza, Ning Nehar tuman with Mandawar, Nur valley, Kunar and Nur-gal to Abdur Razzak Mirza. [56]

About this time Quj Beg, Fakhir Ali, Kasim Dad, Baba Chahra and other Mughals conspired and decided to desert him. Babur came to know

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[50] Erskine, op.cit., I, P.277.
[51] See Appendix A-II, List of nobles has been prepared from B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, PP.334, 335, 339.
[52] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.340.
[53] Mohibul Hasan, Babur, Founder of Mughal Empire Manohar, N.Delhi, 1985, P.38.
[54] Erskine, op.cit., I, P.279.
[55] T.R. tr. E. Denison Ross, II, P.203.
[56] B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, P. 364.

the plot and arrested the miscreants and ordered to put them to death. But by the intervention of Qasim Beg, they were pardoned and kept in prison.[57]

Likewise the retainers of Khusrau Shah from Hisar and Qunduz, the head man of the Mughals such as Chilma Ali and Aiku Salam and also Khusrau Shah's favourite Chaghtai retainers under Sultan Ali Chuhra and Khudaibakhsh with about two to three thousand Turkman solders led by Siunduk and Shah Nazar unanimously decided to renounce their allegiance to Babur. [58]

At the same time the above mentioned nobles wanted to restore Abdur Razzak the son of his uncle Ulugh Beg Mirza to the throneof Kabul and also to place in his hands Qunduz and Khutlan. [59] This was the first time that the Chaghtai's the Mughals and the Turkman tribes created problem. [60] A party of the conspirators was placed to seize Babur while he was on his way. Many of his bravest and the most attached troops deserted and went to Kabul to protect their wives and children from the outrages from the rebellious Mughals. [61]After a long and desperate struggle, Babur put the conspirators to flight. In this same battle Abdur Razzak Mirza was captured but was treated with generosity

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57 Ibid , P. 345.
58 Ibid .
59 Erskine, op.cit, I, PP. 284-85.
60 B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, P.345; T.R. tr. II, P.204.
61 Erskine, op.cit, I, PP. 284-85.

and freed to go any where. [62] But soon after he engaged in rebellion and suffered death. [63]

In the meantime, Khan Mirza the son of Khusrau Shah was influenced by his mother Shah Begum who traced her descent from the ancient kings of Badakhshan to take measures to raise himself to the throne of that Kingdom. [64] Babur gave consent to both Shah Begum and Mirza Khan to depart for Badakhshan. Shah Muhammad who was in the service of the Begum, accompanied them. As they approached Badakhshan, Miza Khan was sent forward to announce to Zubair Raghi the arrival of the Begum and to explain her intentions. [65]

As Mirza Khan left them, then the party of Aba Baker came and all the men and the Begum and all who were of the party were seized and brought to Kashghar. At the same time, upon Mirza Khan's arrival, Zubair treated him with respect and honour, but afterwards paid least attention to him that he allowed only one or two servants to wait on him. Yusuf Ali Kukuldash Diwana, one of Mirza Khan's, old retainers, conspired with eighteen other persons and one night assassinated Zubair and elevated Khan Mirza to the throne. [66] Khan Mirza always showed his loyalty to Babur. [67]

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62 T.F., tr. Briggs, II, P. 19; T.R. , tr., II, P.203.
63 Ibid , P.19.
64 Ibid.
65 T.R. tr. E. Denisson, II, P.203.
66 Ibid .
67 A.N. tr. I, P. 233.

At this moment Sultan Said Khan came from Badakhshan and he was welcomed with great respect and honour by Babur. The Khan used to say : "Those days that I spent in Kabul were the freest for care or sorrow of any I have ever experienced, or ever shall experience. I spent two years and a half at the court of this excellent Prince, in a continued succession of enjoyments and in the most complete abandonment to pleasure and absence of pre-occupation. I was on friendly terms with all and made welcome by all. I never suffered even a headache unless from the effects of wine; and never fell distress or sad, except on account of the ringlets of some beloved one."[68]

The Khan remained in Kabul as the companion and confident of the Emperor. There existed between these two great princes perfect agreement, love and trust. [69] Some days after Mirza Haider Doghlat son of Muhammad Hussain Doghlat came to Kabul. He was accompanied by a party of sixteen who were received by Shirum Taghai, who was maternal uncle to the Emperor and Mirza Haider and one of the pillars of state. With a hundred marks of honour, he invited Mirza Haider to his own house where he was entertained distinction and kindness. When Mirza Haider was brought before Babur, he was extended the hand of favour and welcome. [70]

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[68] T.R. tr. E. Denisson, II, P.226.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

On this occasion, Babur expressed to Mirza Haider with great benevolence "your father and all your relations have been made to drink to the wine of martyrdom : but thank God you have come back to me again in safety. Do not grieve too much at their loss. For I will take their place and whatever favour of affection you could have expected from them, that and more, will I show you." [71]

With such promises and tenderness, Mirza Haider was consoled so that the bitterness of orphanage could be removed from his mind. Further Maulana Muhammad Sadr; master of Mirza Haider was honoured with many kind speeches and kept asking him the particulars of his story while the Maulana several times recounted the particulars of escape. Babur praised him highly and rejoiced his soul with promises of favour. A steward (Kalavuz) was appointed for Muhammad Haider. [72]

Tarikh-i-Rashidi itself confirms that Babar all the time showed such affection and kindness to him as a lovely father shows his son and heir. At this time Mohammad Haider in response to this himself expresses " It was hard day for me when I lost father but the bitterness of my desolation became scarcely perceptible, owning to the blessed favours of the Emperor"[73]

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[71] Ibid , P.229.
[72] Ibid .
[73] Ibid. P. 230

Shortly after the defeat of shaibani at Merv, Mirza Khan invited Babur to his ancestral dominions. Consequently Nasir Mirza was put incharge of Kabul in 1510 as Babur set out for Samarqand.[74] According to Tarikh-i-Rashidi a few of the Mughals from Kabul such as sherim Taghai, Mir Mazid, Kul Nazar Mirza, Ayyub Begchik, Mir Muhammad, Mir Ibrahim, Yadgar Nasir, Kara Sultan Ali Mirza, Mir Ghuri Barlas, Amir Daim Ali, Mirza Muhammad, Mir Beg Muhammad, Mir Kambar, Shah Nazar Mirza, Kutluk Mirak and other joined. [75]

The above Mughal nobles made a conspiracy to kill Babur and raised his guest Sultan Said Chaghtai to the Khanship of the Mughals. In view of this they persuaded him but he rejected their offer to remove his protector.[76] At this mo ment he expressed the concern that he was saved by Babur and he could not play so ungrateful a role towards his well-wishers.[77] .

In the meantime sayyid Muhammad Husain, Mirza Haider's uncle sent petition for help from Andijan. In response to that petition Babur sent sultan said and the scheming Mughal nobles[78] to Andijan where he was made the Khan on 14th May 1511.[79] While staying at kunduz an ambassador came from shah Ismail who sent Khanzada Begum with all

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[74] Ibid, P.237.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid, PP. 241-242; T.F., tr. Briggs, II, P.21.
[77] Stanely Lane Pool, Babur, Oxford Univ Press, 1931, P.35.
[78] T.R. tr. E. Denisson Ross, II, PP. 247-248.
[79] Ibid.

her property and servants to her brother as a gesture of goodwill and friendship. Babur immediately welcomed the Persian ambassador and received the gifts sent by the Shah.[80] Khan Mirza was sent to thank Shah Ismail laden with presents and charged with protestations of submission, good faith and entreaties for support and assistance.[81] He was well received and his request for help was granted.[82]

At Qarshi, after the defeat of Uzbegs, Mahadi, Hamza and Hamza's son Mamak were brought before Babur who did to them what Shaibani had done to Mughal Khan and to the chaghtai Sultans.[83] This event was followed by a large number of Shah Ismail's troops under Ahmed Beg Safavi, Ali Khan Istilju and Shahrukh sultan Afshar, Ismail's seal keeper who joined.[84]

Soon after the feeling of resistance developed among the Dervishes, Shaikhs and Sufis starting from the religious personages after the reconquest over Samarqand. These ideas were soon transmitted to the common peole that Babur became agent of the Persians.[85] He failed to win the confidence of even the shah whose demands had been fulfilled by him completely. The reinforcements sent by the Shah earlier had returned. Although Babur sent valuable gifts and protestations of good

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[80] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P.352.
[81] Wooley Haig & Burn, The Cambridge History of India, The Mughal Period, Vol. IV, Cambridge University Press, 1937. P.7.
[82] B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, P.352.
[83] Ibid ; T.R. tr., II, P.245.
[84] Ibid .
[85] T.R. tr. II, P.246.

faith through the Persian generals, Ahmad Beg and Shahrukh, his bonafides were still not established.[86]

When Babur Started showing signs of independence, the futility of this alliance became apparent to the shah. The Persian ambassador, Maulana Muhammad Jam, the eishik agari (master of gate keeper) of Najam Beg, who had earlier been sent to Samarqand reported to the Shah on his return at Qum that Babur had deliberately ignored and detained him and that he had rebellious designs. The Shah became angry at his news and so much so that he appointed an army to punish Babur for his disloyalty.[87]

Humayun Nama mentions that Babur suffered defeat at the hand of Uzbeg 'owing to want of cooperation in his brother and to the opposition of the Mughals' who made up a large part of Babur's army.[88] The other sources give other picture of the fact that the treacherous Mughals who formed the bulk of the army of Babur may have probably behaved in a treacherous manner as they had done so many times in the past. The Samaraqandis invited Ubaidullah Khan to occupy Samarqand. They promised to organize a revolt against Babur and to hand over the keys of the city to the Uzbegs.[89]

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[86] Mansura Haider, Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century, Manohar, New Delhi, 2002, P.141.
[87] Ibid, P.142.
[88] H.N., tr. Beveridge, P.91.
[89] Masnura Haider, op.cit. P.146.

The nobles and higher officials of the city organized a meeting due to Babur's flight. Among them an important official Khwaja Nizam persuaded the nobles unanimously to invite Ubaidullah and sent one Khwaja Ibrahim as their envoy to him. On the way Aq Muhammad Ughlan met Khwaja Ibrahim and was encouraged to rush to Samarqand. When khwaja Ibrahim met Ubaidullah, he expressed deep regrets on behalf of the people of Samarqand for their past behaviour and after seeking Ubaidullah's forgiveness extended him the invitation to proceed to Samarqand. Upon his arrival to Samarqand he was received very warmly both the nobles and commanders who came with suitable gifts.[90]

Bairam Beg Karaman, the wali of Balkh sent three hundred men under the command of Amir Muhammad Shiraji after the defeat by Ubaidullah Khan. Subsequently Najm-i-Sani sent Amir Ghiyasuddin Muhammad to Hissar to restore confidence in Babur and assurances of shah's great generosity and request to join him.[91]

Soon after at Hisar, Babur was subject to great danger by sudden attack made by the Mughal. He repeatedly complains in his memoirs that all on occasions he had found the Mughals a turbulent and treacherous race who were always ready for rebellions to turn up their friends.[92]

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[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid, P.147; Rushbrook Williams, op.cit., P.107.
[92] B.N. tr. Beveridge, I, PP. 361.

In this circumstances these Mughals formed a conspiracy against him led by yadgar Mirza, Nazar Mirza, Mir Ayub Begchik, Mir Muhammad who attacked Babur and killed many of his followers.[93] He was powerless to oppose them and Hisar fell from his hands and came under the domination of the uzbeg.[94] Upon Babur's return to Kabul, his youngest brother Nasir Mirza to whom he assigned that country while he conquered Samarqand, came out to receive him with every mark of honour.[95]

Subsequently Nasir Mirza resigned the government of Kabul in favour of his brother. He was allowed to return to his own old fief Ghazni. His behaviour made a great impression to Babur.[96] At the time for his departure, he was loaded with many marks of the imperial favour. But in the course of the following year, he became victim to the excess of his habitual indulgence in wine. His death became the signal for a mutiny and revolt among the great Mughal chiefs who have taken a part.[97]

Shairam Taghai, the uncle of Babur's mother who had all his life been in the service, Mir Mazid Wajkeh his brother, kul Nazar and in general all the Mughals rose in rebellion. Even such an old servant as Mulana Baba of Pashaghar whom Babur three years before made

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[93] Erskine, op.cit. , II, P.328.
[94] B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, PP. 361-362.
[95] Erskine, op.cit. II, P.328.
[96] B.N. , tr. Beveridge, I, P.363.
[97] Erskine, op.cit. , II, P.330.

governor of Samarqand Uratippa and the hill country was involved. In addition to him, Mir Ahmad Kohbur, who had been governor of Tashkend by his brother Kitteh Beg, the gallant defender of Sairam and by many of the distinguished nobles of the court were involved in this conspiracy.[98]

At this crisis, Amir Kambar Ali, the son of Amir Kasim Kochin, Babur's favourite minister came from kunduz with a considerable force and joined Dost Beg and they killed the rebels.[99] Many of whom were taken and met with the reward of their treason while others fled and escaped to kashghar. Shiram Taghai was for some time, in the service of sultan khan, "but unable to support himself". He came back to the Empror, who with his usual benevolence, received him kindly opened his eyes of favour on his unworthy acts and considered at his past services until he died shortly.[100]

Simultaneously, the son of Badi-uz-Zaman Mirza Baiqara, Muhammad-i-Zaman was invited to Kabul but he was prevented by Mahdi Khwaja and instead of that went to Ghurjistan. Upon this act, Babur pursued him and eventually he was captured and sent to Kabul where Babur treated him with kindness. Some days after he was married with Babur's daughter, Masuma. In the same year, Shah Beg's son, Shah

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98 Ibid , P. 335; B.N, tr. Beveridge, I, P. 363.
99 Ibid .
100 Ibid ; B.N, tr. Beveridge, I, P. 364; T.R., tr. II, P. 357.

Hasan came to Babur after quarrel to his father and was married to khalifa's daughter GulBarg.[101]

The fort of Bajaur was presented to Khwaja Kalan Beg, son of Maulana Muhammad sadar who had been one of the great officers of Mirza Umar Shaikh. This khwaja related to Babur in a singularly manner for six brothers who had devoted their lives in his services.[102] In Bajaur the captives were pardoned and allowed to be free by the request, khwaja Kalan. But the most mischevious chiefs were dealt with severely and put to death. Babur announced his victory over the Bajauris by sending the heads of these chief whom he mentions as sultans to Kabul, Badakhshan, Qunduz and Balkh.[103]

Moreover Malik Shah Mansoor was honoured who had arrived on peaceful mission from the yusufzai tribe. Babur gave him a dress of honour and allowed him to return. Through him Babur sent threatening letters to the leaders of the yusufzai tribe demanding submission and allegiance.[104] In Swad, chief sultan Alauddin and chief Sultan Wais Sawadi joined him.[105]

Once again Malik Shah Mansur, son of Malik Sulaiman Shah, the leader of the Yusufzai tribe came and waited upon him. Despite his

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[101] B.N , tr. Beveridge, I, PP. 364-66.
[102] A.N. , tr. I, P.236.
[103] B.N, tr. Beveridge, I, P.371.
[104] Ibid
[105] Ibid , P.373.

differences with other tribal leaders, he accepted Babur's proposal to give his daughter in marriage to him.[106] On 30th Jan, 1519, Shah Mansur's brother Taus Khan yusufzai along with his niece Bibi Mubarika went to the Mughal camp where Babur married her as a friendly gesture towards the Afghans.[107]

After the death of Khan Mirza in Badakhshan, Humayun was appointed as governor.[108] Upon the siege on Qandhar by Babur, Shah Beg now made great efforts to induce Shah Ismail of Persia to interfere on his behalf. At this time Shah Beg transferred the town of Qandhar to Maulana Abdul Baqi who treacherously betrayed the faith and sent a messenger to Babur at Kabul offering to surrender the town.[109]

Babur accordingly came back and received the submission of the fort which was handed over to his younger son, Kamran Mirza who was a few months junior to Humayun. Shah Beg Arghun was compelled to seek refuge in the city of Bhakhar the capital of sind. [110]

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[106] Ibid.
[107] Yusuf Hussain, Two studies in Eartly Mughal History, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1976. P.68; A.N. tr. I, P. 337.
[108] T.F., tr. Briggs, II, P.24.
[109] B.N., tr. Beveridge, I, PP. 434-25.
[110] T.F. ,. Tr. Briggs, II, P.24.

CHAPTER-3

COMPOSITION OF BABUR'S NOBILITY AFTER THE CONQUEST OF INDIA

In this chapter I have divided Babur's nobility into two broad groups, the Hindustani and the Central Asian.[1] By Hindustani nobles mean those Afghans as well as non-Afghans who were already settled in Hindustan as distinct from those who accompanied Babur into Hindustan upon Wajh, entrusted with military command and other priviledges. They are generally mentioned by Babur as Amirs of Hind. In view of their power, position and influence in the Lodi Empire, Babur was obliged to accommodate them in his nobility. Thus they constituted a major component of his nobility in India.

Besides, it is also included in this chapter the details of the local Zamindars, the rais, or rajas, who held various principalities in India by way of wajh wa Istiqamat and were also accommodated by Babur in the Mughal polity.[2]

Hindustani Nobility:

Even before the conquest of Hindustan Babur came into contact with members of the Afghan nobles as certain dissatisfied nobles of Sikander Lodi actually invited him to invade India in 1519.[3] To become the ruler of Hindustan, he enlisted the support of the Afghans to realise his imperialistic and expansionist designs. Babur, in his memoirs has asserted that he showed

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[1] For reference see Appendix -III, List of Babur's nobles, Indian & Central Asian nobles; Afzal Hussain, Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir, op.cit, PP. 193-195.

[2] Yog Raj Malhotra, Babur's Nobility and his Administration, A.B.S. Publication, Jallandhar, 1995.P.43.

[3] Afzal Hussain, op.cit, P.2.

kindness towards the Afghan nobles.[4] Both Abul Fazal[5] and Badauni[6] have endorsed his claim.

From the source we notice a total of 45 Hindustanis who submitted. Most of them were assigned wajh and thus included among Babur's wajhadars. In the most of the cases Babur specifically mentions the amount of wajh he fixed for the individual nobles and mentions the territory from which their wajh was assigned.[7]

When Babur occupied Bhira, Ali Khan Son of Daulat Khan Lodi, who was serving there as his father's deputy sent some peshkash to him through his Hindu Lieutenant Dev, son of Shaktu and some other notables. He accepted the gifts and sent Ali Khan and his nobles towards Lahore to persuade Daulat Khan to enter an understanding with him. He also sent an ambassador named Mulla Murshid with letters for both Daulat Khan Lodi and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.[8] Daulat Khan Lodi who had been expelled from Lahore by the King of Delhi organized the support of a large number of nobles posted in the cis-satlej region opened negotiations with Babur. He entered into an alliance with him against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and even invited Alam Khan Lodi Son of Bahlol Lodi from Gujrat.[9]

During this period, Rana Sanga the ruler of Mewar sent an envoy promising a joint attack on Ibrahim. Daulat Khan now joined Babur along with

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4 B.N. tr. Beveridge, II, P. 527.
5 A.N. tr. Beveridge, I, P. 96.
6 M.T, tr. I, P. 337.
7 Yog Raj Malhotra, op.cit, P.30; For reference see Appendix -IV
8 Elliot & Dowson, History of India as told by its own historian, Vol. IVth, London, 1872. see Extract from Tuzuki- Baburi,pp.232-33.
9 T.F. , II, P.24; Nirodbhushan Roy, Nimatullah's History of Afghans , Shantineketan, 1958. P.166.

his sons Ali Khan, Ghazi Khan and Dilawar Khan at Dipalpur. They were honoured and admitted in the Mughal nobility. The Afghan Chief was assigned Sultanpur and Jalandhar as against the wishes of assigning Lahore and its dependencies. Mahmud Khan Jehan was appointed as officer incharge of a pargana in Lahore. He was entrusted with the civil charge of that region and also the management of the native officers in the Mughal services.[10]

Dilawar Khan, the youngest son of Daulat Khan Lodi acquainted Babur privately that his father and brother only wanted to separate the Mughal forces in order to defeat them. In return Dilawar Khan was conferred the title of Khan Khanan and given the family estates. [11] Alam Khan also after some time came and had an interviews with Babur who in accordance with his former custom, gave him an honourable reception and bestowed him with a robe of honour and other marks of honour. He was also assigned Dipalpur.[12]

At the time of his defeat by Daulat Khan, Alauddin Khan Lodi was promised by Babur that he would support him in person as soon as his affairs in Kabul should permit. Babur in this context, gave orders to his officers to join Alauddin with their forces posted at Lahore and to march towards Delhi against Ibrahim Lodi.[13]

After the defeat of Daulat Khan at Milwat, he was received honourably and subsequently forgiven and took into favour. His son Ali Khan submitted along with a few ashrafis as a peshkash. Daulat Khan and his family were

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[10] Ibid, PP. 24-25.
[11] Ibid , P.25.
[12] M.T. , I, P.437.
[13] T.F. , II, P.26.

allowed to retain their private estates but the rest of their property including the treasure were confiscated. At this time Dilawar Khan separated from his brother Haji Khan, came at Milwat and offered his allegiance.[14]

At Dun in pargana Jaswan, Shah Imad Shiraji came with letters from Araish Khan and Mulla Muhammad Mazhab, containing assurances of their attachment to Babur's interest and urging him to continue resolutely the expedition which had been commenced. In return Babur wrote them his 'protection and favour'.[15] Similar letters also came from Ismail Jilwani and Malik Babban Khan Lodi Shah Khail. Babur sent them gracious replies and invited them to join him. They immediately joined Babur's army and showed the jesture of sincerity and loyalty along with a three thousand horse.[16]

It was also about this time Alam Khan came to him in a wretched condition. Babur sent his nobles to welcome him, he was given horses as a mark of favour.[17] From Baburnama it appears that there were certain nobles who found in Babur's service but they have not given any assignments.[18]

After the battle of Panipat, Babur's attitude underwent a change in which he realised the necessity of admitting Afghan and Indian nobles into his ruling class. In this respect he adopted a mixed policy of conciliation and coercion. In the beginning he offered them offices, Jagirs and protection in case

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[14] Ibid , PP. 27-28; M.T., I, P.438; Memoirs of Babur, tr. Layden & Erskine, II, PP. 169, 172.
[15] B.N., II, P.463; Ibid,p.175.
[16] Ibid , P.464; Ibid, P.176.
[17] Ibid .
[18] For reference see Appendix –V, B.N. , II, PP.463-682.

they readily submitted and acknowledged his authority and joined his banner. Many of the Afghan nobles responded to his friendly gesture. [19]

Immediately after the battle, amnesty was declared and promises were made to retain in the administration of the Empire. Even those who had displeased Babur previously, now shown favour. Among them Malik Dad Karrani, Milli sudruk and Firoz Khan Mewati who had annoyed Babur by their false dealings were not punished. They were pardoned on the recommendation of the people of Agra by whom they were treated with affection. Babur also restored to them all their property and granted them good parganas when they promised loyalty and whole hearted support.[20]

After pacifying his men and gaining their confidence, Babur turned his attention to the subjugation of those chiefs, Afghan and non-Afghan who refused to acknowledge his authority. During this period his policy was to subdue those who revolted him and rewarded those who submitted and entered his service.[21] About the middle of July 1526, Mulla Apak was sent to Shaikh Ghuran of koil, who possessed a large jagir in Meerut to win over him. Ghuran came bringing with him 2,000 or 3,000 soldiers and quiver-weavers from Awadh. [22] Shortly after Nizam Khan surrendered the fort of Tahanagar and came with Sayyid Rafi and later he was bestowed a pargana in Mian-doab worth 20 lacs. [23]

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[19] B.N., II, P.477.
[20] Ibid , PP.477-478.
[21] Ibid , P. 539.
[22] T.F. II, P.32; M.T. , I, P.444.
[23] B.N. , II, PP.539-40; Erskine, op.cit., I, PP.452-453.

Likewise Muhammad Zaitun who had refused Babur's summons and ignored his envoy now surrendered. He was given a pargana in the Doab. Besides, Mahmud Khan and Qazi Jia who had received every kind of favours and concessions and held large parganas in the eastern regions with adequate allowances and salaries. [24]

The above mentioned nobles were also deputed to serve the Khwaja Syed Mahdi. Both Nizam Khan of Biana and Qazi Jia were conferred assignments of the value of 20 lacs each, the former from Mian Doab and latter from Jaunpur. At the same time Kasim Sambhali also invited Babur to receive under his protection. Futtah Khan, the late King's minister joined. Humayun whom he sent to Babur at Agra and became the means of inducing several Afghan chiefs to submit. [25]

Ibrahim's mother was treated with respect and given back her money and slaves. In addition, she was given a pargana of seven lacs for her maintenance. [26] Immediately after the battle, the family of Raja of Bikramajit was treated with kindness and in return of submission allowed to retain the pargana equivalent to an amount of 70 lacs. Moreover, Shamshabad in exchange for Ranthambore was given to them. [27]

When Humayun was in Dalmau, Fath Khan Sherwani son of Azam Humayun a leading noble of the Lodis presented himself. Humayun sent him to the court where Babur received him favourably. He 'invited Fath Khan

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[24] M.T, I, P.445; Zain Khan, Tabaqat-i- Baburi , tr. Syed Hasan Askari, Delhi, 1982. P.145 (hereafter Abbreviated as T.B).
[25] T.F. , II, PP. 32-33.
[26] Ibid , P.44, T.B. , P.96.
[27] B.N., II, PP.512-513.

sarwani to a wine party, gave him wine, bestowed on him a turban and robe of honour of my own wearing.'[28] He was given the title of Khan-i-Jahan [29] and territory to the value of 1,60,00000 tankas over and above those assigned to his father. He was permitted to go to his assigned territory but his son Mahmud Khan was asked to remain at the court.[30]

The gesture of kindness and sympathy shown by Babur won many of the Afghan and they compromised themselves to the Chaghtai rule. At Kalpi, its ruler Alam Khan, son of Jalal Khan Jighat came and surrendered. He accompanied Humayun to Agra where he was received with due honours. He was allowed to continue to hold Kalpi which had the jama of 4 crore 28 lacs 55 thousand 950 tankas. This is the highest figure any Afghan noble was allowed to enjoy under Babur. [31]

About the same time Sarang Khani family enjoyed a trusted position. Firoz Khan Sarang Khani was the first to submit to Babur after his occupation. He was conferred an assignment of 1,46,05,000 tankas from Jaunpur after he joined service. [32]His uncle Tatar Khan Sarang Khan who was in Gwalior came to Agra where he was admitted into the nobility. A subsistence allowance (wajh wa istiqamat) was fixed at 20 lacs and a pargana of equivalent value was assigned to him from Bianwan in Agra district. His another uncle Taj Khan

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[28] Ibid , P.537; A.N. , I, P.104.
[29] For reference on titles see Appendix-VI.
[30] B.N. , II, P.537; A.N., I, P.104.
[31] T.F. , II, P.54.
[32] B.N. , II, P. 527; T.B. , P.145.

Sarang Khan was allowed to retain Chunar which he already possessed at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra.[33]

In all major engagement following the battle of Panipat, Indian nobles fought in Babur's army against Indian Chiefs. During the battle of Khanua, the Indo-Afghan nobles who remained faithful and loyal to Babur were Sultan Alauddin (Prince Alam Khan Lodi) son of Sultan Bahlul, Khan-i-Khanan Dilawar Khan, 'pillar of the nobility' , Malik Dad Karrani, Shaikh Ghuran, sons of sultan Allauddin Lodi and Nizam Khan of Bayana. They held important posts in the battle field at Khanua and fought against the anti-Mughal forces, Rajput as well as Muslims assembled under the banner of Rana Sanga.[34]

After the battle of Khanua, Karam Chand a confident of Hasan Nasir Khan came with a request from his master to be forgiven. Upon his arrival, Babur sent back the envoy accompanied by Abdul Rahim Shaghawal with letters addressed to Nasir Khan in which assurances of personal safety was given. In consequence, Nasir Khan came with them to Babur who received him kindly and gave him large pargana with an income of several lacs as wajh for his maintenance. Another important person Muhammad Khan of Jathra who enjoyed the status of hereditary chief like Hasan Khan of Mewat, paid allegiance to Babur. [35]

At the same time Burhan Nizam Shah, prince of Ahmadnagar also sent an ambassador to congratulate Babur on his good fortunate and offered

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[33] Ibid , P.557.
[34] Ibid , PP.565-67.
[35] Memoirs of Babur , tr. Leyden& Erskine, II, PP. 309-10.

allegiance. [36] After the battle with Hasan Khan Mewati in 1528, Nasir Khan the son of Mewati submitted due to his insecurity. [37] Chanderi was granted to Ahmad Shah, the grandson of Sultan Nasiruddin Shah and a tribute of fifty lacs was given along with a force of two to three thousand forces for his support. [38]

Ismail Mita who was the ambassador of Nusrat Shah brought his peshkash and paid his respects according to the usage of Hindustan. He was put on the due dress of honour, Khilat and brought before Babur. [39]

At the fort of Karra, Sultan Jalaluddin and his sons were invested with a Yakta of cloth of gold, a Jameh, a nimchah and at his desire gave his eldest son the title of 'Sultan Muhammad.'[40] He now joined Babur and promised to aid in the expulsion of the Afghans.[41]

At Ghazipur, Jalal Khan and Sher Khan sent letters offering their allegiance. Moreover in the expedition of eastern region Sher Khan was one of those who had helped him against the other Afghans. Sher Khan was bestowed many marks of favour. He was given several parganas in Bihar and became Supreme in that quarter. [42] Besides Sher Khan Sur, Alaul Khan Sur, the son and successor of Muhammad Sur of Chaund, Behar Khan Bihari, Farid Khan and Nasir Khan changed their allegiance to Sultan Mahmood and sent beautiful letters to Babur. [43]

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[36] T.F., II, P. 62.
[37] A.N. I, P.107.
[38] B.N., II, P.590.
[39] Ibid, PP.640-41; Memoirs of Babur, tr. Leyden, II, P.367.
[40] Ibid, P.657; Ibid ,P. 380.
[41] T.F., II, P.63; B.N. II, P.652.
[42] K.R. Qanungo, Sher Shah, Calcutta, 1944. P.58.
[43] B.N., II, P.676.

Nuhani and Farmuli Afghans :

Further owing to the victory at the battle of Ghagra in 1529 and the consequent break of Afghan –Nusrat coalition a large number of rebels who had taken refuge with the Bengal Sultan had submitted. At this moment, Babur liberally rewarded the Afghan chiefs who deserted Nusrat and joined to him. Alaul Khan Nuhani expressed his loyalty and joined the service. As a reward he was given a revenue assignment from Sarwar. Auliya Khan Ashrafi and 5 and 6 amirs also came and joined. Darya Khan grandson of Jalal Khan to whom Shaikh Jamali had joined came with his chief amirs and joined. Yahya Nuhani also came who had already sent his younger brother in sign of submission and had received a royal letter accepting Babur's service. [44]

In May 1529, upon the submission of Jalal Khan Nuhani along with seven to eight thousand Afghans, he became the highest paid Nuhani chief son of Sultan Muhammad Nuhani of Bihar. He was conferred a revenue assignment of the value of 2 crore, 50 lakhs and 60 thousand tankas upon him from Bihar. Earlier Mahmood Khan received 90 Lakhs and 35000 tankas from Ghazipur. After the battle of Ghagra Mahmud Khan was again made another assignment equivalent to the value of 50 Lakhs tankas from Bihar. [45] After concluding a peace treaty with the Nuhanis of Bihar, an assignment of 15 lacs was made upon Yahya Nuhani from Parsarur. [46]

As regards Farmuli Afghans, Ali Khan Farmuli joined Babur's service when Babur sent him one of his captured sons with a letter of favour and

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[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid, P.684.

kindness. Shaikh Bayazid Farmuli had voluntarily joined Babur's service along with several other Afghan amirs namely Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmood Khan Nuhani and Qazi Jia. Soon after Babur's capture of Agra, Shaikh Jamal Farmuli submitted just before the battle of Khanua. [47]

Another Afghan chief Musa Farmuli was also in Babur's service against his brother Afghans. His brother Shah Muhammad also fought for Babur against his father and defeated him twice. He had joined Babur's service at the time of Sultan Mahmud Lodi's occupation of Bihar and fought for Mughals under the command of Askari against the Bengalis. [48]

During this period of rule, many Afghan nobles and other Hindustani chieftains gave support to consolidate Babur's power. Several Afghan nobles joined and rendered him valuable military service. Mahmud Khan Nuhani served in the Etawah expedition along with several other Afghan amirs namely Firoz Khan, Shaikh Bayazid Farmuli and Qazi Jia. He also fought for Babur in the battle of Ghagra against his own brethren. In June 1529, he was appointed along with several other Afghan amirs against Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayazid who had fled towards Dalmau. [49]

Ali Khan Farmuli rendered valuable service to Babur in the battle of Khanua. When Rana Sanga fled from battle field Babur sent Ali Khan along with Muhammad Abdul Aziz and several other nobles in pursuit. He was also appointed against Mian Bibban who had recovered Lakhnaur during the course of Babur's pre-occupation with Rana Sanga. When Mian Bibban and Shaikh

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[47] Tej Ram, 'Babure's Relations with the Nuhani and Farmuli Afghans.' I.H.C., 1980. P.228.
[48] Ibid, P.228.
[49] Ibid, P.229.

Bayazid Farmuli fled towards Lucknow, Babur appointed Ali Khan Farmuli and several other Afghans to pursue them.[50]

Shaikh Bayazi Farmuli was also appointed along with several other amirs against Qutub Khan of Etawah. In August 1526, when Humayun marched against the eastern Afghans, the certain nobles such as Nasir Khan Nuhani, Maruf Farmuli and Shaikh Bayazid Farmuli also accompanied him. Shaikh Jamal Farmuli who had joined the service of Babur just before the battle of Khanua, was sent by Babur to collect the quiver-weavers from the Mian-i-doab and plunder Mewat. Musa Farmuli son of Maruf Farmuli was even given the command of a wing of the army in the battle of Ghagra against the Bengalis.[51]

These Afghan nobles were attracted by giving them revenue assignments of substantial value. Ali Khan Farmuli was conferred upon an assignment of 25 lakh tankas when he paid homage. At the time of his initial submission, Shaikh Bayazid Farmuli was conferred the revenue assignment worth 1 crore 48 lakhs and 50 thousand tankas from Awadh. [52]

After the battle of Ghagra, Musa Farmuli joined on the bank of river Saru and he was given revenue assignment of 30 lakhs from Amroha.[53] On the same day an allowance of seventy lakhs from Sarwar and a tipuchaq horse was bestowed on Ismail Jilwani and he was given leave to return to his wajh. On may 29, 1529, Shah Muhammad was bestowed the revenue of Saran and

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[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] B.N., II, P.527.
[53] Ibid, P.685.

Kundla. Kundla was given to Shah Muhammad only for the maintenance of quicker-weavers while Saran was conferred upon him as his waj-h-i-ulufa. [54]

Apart from the revenue assignments, there were certain other favours bestowed upon the Nuhani, Farmuli and other Afghans.[55] After the battle of Ghaghra, Musa Farmuli was conferred a special robe of honour and a saddled horse.[56] On May 29, 1529, Maruf Farmuli's son, Shah Muhammad was given the special robe of honour and a tipuchaq horse. [57] Nuhani also received a special robe of honour from Babur after his submission.[58]

The Nuhanis were given assignments worth 4 crore 10 lacs and 95 thousand tankas while the Farmulis were given assignments worth 2 crore 3 lacs and 50 thousand tankas. Both the Nuhanis and the Farmulis put together shared between them assignments of the value of 6 crore, 14 lacs and 45 thousand tankas. [59]

In the light of the above discussion, it may be observed that the nobility of Babur after the battle of Panipat no longer remained purely Turani.[60] Therefore, it is wrong to presume that Babur ruled only through his Begs who accompanied him for Central Asia and Afghanistan.[61] The list of nobles of

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[54] Ibid , P.679; A.R. Khan, 'Babur's settlement of his conquest in Hindustan', I.H.C. 1967, PP. 207-20.

[55] For reference see Appendix –VII.

[56] B.N., II, P.685.

[57] Ibid , P.679.

[58] Ibid , P. 684.

[59] Tej Ram, op.cit , P. 320. For reference see Appendix -VIII.

[60] Iqtidar Alam Khan, The Political biography of Mughal noble, Munin Khan Khanan (1497-1575), Aligarh , 1973. IX-XII, Iqtidar Alam Khan believes that the Indian nobles joined for a brief period only; he believes therefore that Babur's nobility remained purely Turani. But we find that a large number of the Indians remained with the Mughals even after Babur's death and during early years of Humayun. As a matter of fact even a number of Indians remained within the nobility, despite the Chaghtai tradition remained dominant because of which the Indian nobles could not be assimilated.

[61] A.R. Khan, op.cit. , PP. 207-20.

Babur based on the Babur nama and other contemporary and near contemporary sources further confirm this opinion. Out of a total of 116 nobles, some of them were Indians including Afghans and Shaikhzadas.[62] Babur's empire shows that approximately more than one-third of its area was either restored or conferred upon the Afghan chiefs by Babur.[63]

Zamindars :

The rais and rajas were other Hindustanis who submitted to Babur and were left undisturbed in their respective territories. The position of the Zamindars in Medieval Indian polity requires no emphasis here as a number of scholars have already treated the subject at length.[64] But the position of Zamindars as the nobility under Babur has been almost neglected and therefore requires to make a study. Although the information about the Zamindar during Babur's period is not extensive. [65]

Babur himself records that parganas worth eight or nine crores out of the total Jama of Hindustan were held by Rais and Rajas who owed allegiance (to the Sultans of Hind) and retained their parganas by way of wajh wa istiqamat. [66] As casual references to the securities of Zamindars show that Babur took notice of this class in Indian polity.[67] Therefore, realising the importance of this class Babur conferred upon those Zamindars who submitted to him, recognized

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[62] For the list of Babur's nobles, see Appendix -III, Afzal Hussain, op.cit. PP. 193-195. c.f., Yog Raj Malhotra, op.cit., P.30.
[63] A.R. Khan, op.cit., PP.207-20.
[64] Yog Raj Malhotra, op.cit., P.43; For details see Nurul Hasan, 'The Position of the Zamindars in the Mugha Empire,' The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.I, no.4, (April-June), Delhi, 1964; A.R. Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the Reign of Akbar, Simla, 1977.
[65] B.N., II, P.446.
[66] Ibid, PP.520-21.
[67] Ibid, P.446.

to them as the legitimate rulers of their respective territories and utilized their military services. In this respect Babur treated the Zamindars in the same manner as the Afghan chiefs or the iqtadars of the Lodi period.[68]

Babur's first contact with the Zamindars can be traced back to 1519 when the Nilabis did obeisance to him by bringing a horse and 300 shahrukhis as peshkash to him on the eve of his crossing the Indus while on his march towards Bhira. [69] Later, Malik Hast Janjuha who was the "ruler of the people and horde near the Suhan water" was the first of the Janjuha chiefs who submitted to Babur. He came and waited with a horse as peshkash.[70] He was followed by another Janjuha chief namely Sangur Khan who also joined Babur bringing a horse as peshkash. Babur says that he treated them with honour and ordered his men not to plunder the territory of the Janjuhas.[71]

Upon Babur's departure from Bhira, the aforesaid Janjuha chiefs, among others were appointed by Babur to reinforce Hindu Beg and their Wajhwa alufa was raised.[72] Another Zamindar who submitted was the Gakkar chief Hati Khan. Gakkars were a powerful people and ruled the track to the north of the territory of the Janjuhas. Their chief, Hati Khan Gakkar was forced to submit by sending a peshkash to Babar in the year 1519.[73] It appears that Gakkars remained loyal to Babur as he in the year 1526 accompanied

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[68] Yog Raj Malhotra, op.cit. , P.43.
[69] B.N., II, P.446.
[70] Ibid ,I, P.380.
[71] Ibid , I, P.383.
[72] Ibid .
[73] Ibid, P.391.

Babur to Agra and rendered him military service in the battle of Khanua against Rana Sanga.[74]

The Raja of Kahlur (modern Bilaspur in Himachal Pradesh) was another Zamindar who submitted. In the third year of his reign (1529-30) when Babur on his way to Lahore reached Sirhind, the raja of Kahlur joined and offered three mounds of gold. Babur on his part confirmed the raja in his Zamindari.[75] The Baghala raja, Bir Singh Deo of Bhattah also seems to have entered into some sort of alliance. It was Bir Singh Deo who had through a despatch (arzadasht) reported to Babur about the invansion of Bihar by Sultan Mahmud Khan Lodi.[76] Bir Singh Deo's name is also listed among the revenue paying rajas in the revenue list of the Baburnama, though the amount is not mentioned.[77] Besides, the raja of Bhimbar was also confirmed in his principality.[78]

A very considerate policy towards these Zamindars were shown and their Zamindaris were not assigned to any noble.[79] Another tradition ascribes the grant of chandrayat upon Baryam, a Bhatti chief, son of Sangur Bhati who fell fighting for Babur at Panipat.[80] Sangur Janjuha also died fighting for Babur at Khanua.[81] The Janjuhas and the Gakkhars were the dominant Zamindari clans of the region between the Sutlej and the Indus and Babur speaks very

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74 A.N., I, PP. 195, 324.
75 B.N., I, PP.191-93.
76 Ibid, I, P.369.
77 Ibid, II, P.521.
78 J. Hutchison and J.Ph. Vogal, History of the Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, Simla, reprint, 1982, P.725.
79 B.N., II, P.639.
80 J. Hutchison and J.Ph. Hogel, op.cit., II, P.724.
81 A.N, I, PP. 195-96.

highly of the former's administrative practices.[82] He did not disturb them but remained content with the peshkash and the military services provided by them.[83]

But in case of turbulent Zamindars Babur adopted the same policy as was followed by Sher Shah and Akbar.[84] When he bestowed the government of the tribes and clans between Nilab and Bhira (hukumat-i-il-u-Ulus- i-mian-i-Nilab-v-Bhira) upon Muhammad Ali Jang, he especially instructed him to crush those who would not submit and treat well those who submitted like a raiyat.[85]

Central Asian Nobles:

The nobility which came with Babur to Hindustan naturally had a predominantly Turani complexion (Central Asian origin) with the exception of few Iranis who joined Babur's service in minor capacities after the fall of the Timurid power in Herat. Although even among these Persians a considerable section constituted of the Turkish specially persons owing to their prolonged stay there in the service of Sultan Husain Mirza.[86]

A considerable section of nobles serving under Babur in Hindustan were those who had been promoted to the status of amirs from ordinary ranks and for that reason most of them including those who otherwise ought to have been very proud of their lineage greatly attached to his person. [87]

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[82] B.N. , I, PP. 547-48.
[83] Ibid , PP. 379-80.
[84] A.N. , I, P. 326-27, 328.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Iqtidar Alam Khan, Life of Munim Khan , op.cit. , P. IX.
[87] Ibid , P.xiii.

Before coming to India Babur sent Abdur-r Rahim Shaghawi to Bhira in order to reassure the people and prevent anyone from committing violence. Bhira was assigned to Hindu Beg as a maintenance. Khushab was made over to Shah Hasan and arranged that he should assist Hindu Beg. [88] Upon the invasion of India, Babur was joined by Abdul Malik Korchi who came from an embassy to Sultan Said Khan along with Yangi Beg, a foster brother of the Khan. He brought private letters from the Khanums as well as the Khans with presence and prayers for Babur's well being. [89]

Following the advance, the brothers of Nur Beg came with an amount of twenty thousand Shahrukhis in gold, in asharfis and tankis which Khwaja Hussain Diwan of Lahore had sent by them. [90] At Parsarur where Ali Jang-Jang, Khwaja Hussain and some others accordingly came and joined. [91] Similarly at Kalanaur, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan and the other amirs joined. [92] They were offered tributes and made fortunate with kindness and favours in accordance with their ranks and grades. [93]

Babur says that Muhammadi and Ahmad with several of the Begs about my person, whom I had recently at Kabul promoted to the rank of Beg were sent to pursue the fugitives without halting. [94] After the capture of Milwat, Baqi Shaghawal was betstowed Dibalpur and he was sent to Balkh. The leading nobles were made incharge of the fort among them were Amir Sultan Junaid

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[88] A.N., I, P.287.
[89] Memoirs of Babur , tr. Leyden & Erskine, II, P.155.
[90] Ibid , P.156.
[91] Elliot and Dowson, op.cit. , IV, P.224.
[92] Ibid, P.245.
[93] Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari tr. B. Dey ed.; Beni Prasad, Vol.II, reprint, 1992. P.10 (cited as T.A.)
[94] Elliot and Dowson, op.cit. IV, P.245.

Barlas, Amir Ahmadi Barwanji, Amir Qutlaq Qadam and certain other Amir's for taking charge of the treasure and the property in the fort. [95] At Lahore Babur appointed Meer Abdul Aziz, governor of Lahore, Khusrau Gokultash, governor of Sialkot, Baba Qashqa Mughal was made governor of Dipalpur and Muhammad Ali Tajik, governor of Kalanaur. [96]

During this period Babur was joined by his son Humayun from Badakhshan with a well equipped army while Khwaja Kalan Beg one of the leading members of the court came from Ghazni and joined the Court. [97]After capturing the fort of Milwat, some Central Asian nobles such as Amir Khwaja Kalan Beg, Amir Sultan Mohammad Duldai, Amir Wali Khazin, Amir Abdul Aziz, Amir Muhib Ali, Khwaja Khalifa and some of the officers who had stayed in Hindustan like Hindu Beg, Abdul Aziz, Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang were deputed to accompany Humayun against Hamid Khan, governor of Hisar-Firoza. [98]

Upon the defeat of Hamid Khan, Humanyun was assigned Hissar Firoza and the lands of Jullundhar in reward with a crore in money as a present. [99] Babur describes in his memoirs that when I set out from Kabul this last time, I had raised many of low rank to the dignity of Beg, in the expectation that if I had chosen to go through fire and water, they would have followed me back and forward without hesitation; and that they would have accompanied me cheerfully march where I would. It never surely entered my imagination that

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[95] T.A., II, P.13.
[96] T.F., II, P.39.
[97] B.N., II, P.445.
[98] Elliot & Dowson, op.cit., IV, P.249; B.N., II, P.240.
[99] Ibid ; Ibid, P. 467.

they were to be the persons who were to arraign to my measures, nor that before rising from council, they should show a determined opposition to every plan and opinion which I proposed and supported in the council. [100]

At this critical moment some of the begs and best men began to lose heart, objected to remain in Hindustan. Ahmadi Parwanchi and wali Khazin behaved badly. Babur says that since the time we left Kabul, till we had defeated Ibrahim Lodi and took Agra, Khwaja Kalan had behaved admirably but some days after taking of Agra, all his opinions underwent a complete change. In the council of the begs, Khawaja Kalan and some other nobles urged to go back to Kabul. He was bestowed Ghazni, Gerder and the Sultan Masudi Hazaras. He was also given the pargana of Kehram in Hindustan though being permitted to return to Kabul. Khwaja Mir Miran was likewise directed to proceed to Kabul. [101]

After the victory of Panipat, Humayun, Amir Khwaja Kalan Beg, Amir Muhammad Kokultash, Amir Younus Ali, Amir Shah Mansur Barlas, Amir Abdullah Kitabdar, Amir Ali Khazin went with a force to Agra to take possession of the treasure. Sayyid Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan, Amir Junaid Barlas, Amir Abdullah Kitabdar, Amir Ali Khazin went with a force to Agra to take possession of the treasure. Sayyid Mehdi Khwaja, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan, Amir Junaid Barlas, Amir Qutluq Qadam were sent to Delhi to preserve the treasures and secret stone of that place and to acquaint the subjects and inhabitants with royal

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[100] Memoirs of Babur tr. Leyden & Erskine, II, P.248.
[101] Ibid, PP. 248-250; Alexander Dow, op.cit ,II, P.123.

graciousness.[102] Amir Wali Qizil was deputed for the superintendency of the capital city of Delhi and Maulana Dost Muhammad was appointed to be the Diwan. [103]

Generally Babur after his conquest over Sultant Ibrahim Lodi and occupation of Agra, parcelled out various territories in Hindustan amongst his Begs who were asked to go and conquer the respective territories allotted to them.[104]About this time Sultant Muhammad Aughli (Quli) who had come to Babur's assistance with great diligence and bravery accompanied by 10,000 horse was made governor of Panipat and granted as gift the revenue due upon one harvest. [105] After the accession of Babur on the throne of Agra, Humayun was given about seventy lakhs in money. Several of his chief amirs were presented sums of ten, eight, seven and six lakhs according to their respective merits or claims. [106] Babur's cousin Muhammad Sultan Mirza was given some shields and 2 lakhs rupees in money added to which he conferred costly presents on all his chiefs. [107]

After distributing rewards to the nobles, each one of the provinces of the Kingdom was conferred on one of the renowned Sultans and the successful amir. The province of Sambhal was allotted as the fief of the noble Humayun Mirza. [108] He was also the recipient of a square Shawl, a garment of gold an embroidered sword, belt and dagger belts an Arabian horse with the saddle of

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102 A.N. , I, PP. 246-247.
103 T.B. , P.93.
104 A.R. Khan,'Babur's settlement, op.cit. , P.207.
105 Elliot & Dowson, op.cit , V, see Extract, Tarikh-i-Salatin Afghana. P.34.
106 Erskine, op.cit. , I, P.440.
107 T.F. , II, P.48.
108 T.A. , II, P.28.

gold. Chin Timur Sultan, Syed Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad Sultan Mirza also received the Charqab and sword belt. Amir Hindu Beg was his agent and in the service of the prince who was directed to take the charge of the government of his jurisdiction. [109]

Dost Aishak Agha was appointed governor of Biana but a few days later Mahdi Khwaja was sent there in his place with a Wajh wa Istiqamat of seventy lakhs. [110]After the battle of Khanua in 1527, Babur made grants of towns and fortress yet unconquered to prominent nobles and sent them with a small force to take possession. In this way, Etawah was taken from Qutub Khan and it was given as a gift to Syed Mahdi Khwaja. [111] Amir Abdul Fath Turkman was appointed as the military collector (Shiqdar) [112] of the fort of Dholpur and he was charged with the work of protecting that fort. [113]

Most of the other nobles were assigned territories only after the battle of Khanua.[114] The government of Kanauj was bestowed on Muhammad Sultan Mirza, a grandson of the great Sultan Hussain Mirza of Khorasan, one of the Emperor's favourite officers and he was sent with a strong army to recover the lost territory.[115] Similarly, the government of Mewat was conferred upon Timur Sultan. [116] Chin Timur Sultan was also bestowed the city of Tijara.[117]

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[109] T.B. , P.149.
[110] Ibid , PP. 149-153.
[111] B.N, II, P.527; T.B. , PP.169-170.
[112] For reference regarding various posts see Appendix -IX.
[113] T.B., P.171.
[114] For reference see Appendix -X.
[115] Erskine, op.cit. , I, P.477.
[116] Alexandor Dow, op.cit. , P.133.
[117] Elliot & Dowson, op.cit. , IV, P. 247.

Askari who governed Multan came to the court and paid allegiance. [118] He was made to put on a Jewelled dagger and belt. He was presented a royal dress of honour with flag, horse-tail standard, drum, a set (6-8) of tipuchaq (horses), 10 elephants, a string of camels, one of mules, royal plenishing and a royal utensils. Moreover, he was offered to take his seat at the head of a Diwan. [119]

During this period a reinforcement of 500 men arrived from Kabul accompanied by Qasim Hussain Sultan, son of one of the daughters of Sultan Hussain Baiqara. Babur welcomed the party in which an astrologer named Muhammad Sharif was present. [120] Simultaneouly Khwaja Asad who had been sent on an embassy to Shahzada Tahmasp to Iraq, came back and joined. He was returned with one of the nobles of the aforesaid Shahzada, Sulaiman, along with two circassion girls who became slave girls of Babur. [121]

Baburnama gives the references of these Central Asian nobles who were participants in the battle of Khanua along with Babur. The right centre was entrusted to Hussain Timur Sultan, Sulaiman Shah, Khwaja Dost Khazan, Yunus Ali Beg, Shah Mansur Barlas, Darwesh Muhammad Sarban, Abdulah Kitabdar and Dost Beg Aqa and the left Centre was to the Sad Muhib Ali, Tardi Beg, Sher Afghan Khwaja Hasan Dewan along with a body of Dewanian. [122]

The right wing was given to Shahzada Muhammad Mirza and towards his right Kasim Hussain Sultan, Ahmad Yusuf, Hindu Beg Kocheen, Khusrau

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[118] Alexander Dow, op.cit , P.133.
[119] B.N. , II, P.628.
[120] Erskine, I, op.cit , P.466.
[121] T.F. , II, PP. 53-54; T.B. , P.172.
[122] B.N. II, P.540.

Kokultash, Malik Qasim, Baba Qashqa Mughal, Qawam Beg son of Shah Wali Khazin, Khwaja Pahalwan Badakhshi Abdul Shakur, Sulaiman Aqa the ambassador of Iraq and the Hussain the ambassador of Sistan had their position fixed. [123]

To the left of the right wing Syed Mir Shah, Muhammad Kokultash, Khwaja Asad the sar-i-Jandar. [124] The left wing was given over to Syed Khwaja. Towards his right and left, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultant, Abdul Aziz, the Amir Akbar, Qutluq Qadam, Amir Khanji, Mirza-i-Mughal, Jan Beg Atka were posted. To the flanking party of the left wing Tardi Beg, Momin Atka and Rustam Turkman with a body of Naubatyan were appointed.[125] Besides, there were certain other nobles who served in the expeditions but did not hold any assignments. [126]

After the feast in 1528, Khwaja Abdus Shahid and Khwaja Kalan were made to put on surcounts (Jabbah) of fine muslin, spotted with gold-embroidery and suitable dresses of honour and those headed by Mulla Farruk and Hafiz had jackets put on them. On Kuchum Khan's envoy and on Hasan Chalebi's younger brother were bestowed silken head-wear (bashliq) and gold-embroidered surtons of fine muslin with suitable dresses of honour. Gold-embroidered jackets and silk coats were presented to the envoys of Abu Saeed Sultan (uzbeg) of Mih-ban Khanim and her son. The two Khwajas and the two chief envoys, Kuchum Khan's retainer and Hasan Chalebi's younger brouther

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123 Ibid.
124 Ibid.
125 Ibid, P.568.
126 For reference see Appendix - XI.

were presented with a silver stone's weight of gold and a gold stone's weight of silver. [127]

To Khwaja Mir Sultan and his sons, to Hafiz of Tashkent, to Mulla Farruk at the head of the Khwaja's servants and also to other envoys, silver and gold were given with a quiver. Yadgar Nasir was presented with a dagger and belt. A dagger was also bestowed on Mir Muhammad the raft man who was deserving of reward for the excellent bridge he had made over the Ganges. Likewise Haji Muhammad Bahlul, Wali and Ustad Ali's son were also bestowed. Gold and silver were presented to Sayyid Daud Garmsiri. Jackets with buttons and silk dresses of honour were presented to the servants of Babur's daughter and his son Hindal. Gifts of the same kind were given to the servants of Qurban and Shaikhi. [128]

Besides the above rewards, Kuchum Khan's envoy Amin Mirza was presented a dagger with belt, cloth of gold and 70,000 tankas. Abu Said's servant Mulla Tughai and the servants of Mihr-Ban Khan and her son Pulad Sultan were made to put on dresses of honour with gold- embroidered jackets and were presented also with money in accordance with their status. [129]

Khwaja Abdul-Haqq was given leave for stay in Agra and to Khwaja Yahya's grandson Khwaja Kalan for Samarkand, who had come by way of a mission from Aurbeg Khans and Sultans. In congratulation on the birth of Humayn's son and Kamran's marriage, Mulla Tabrizi and Mirza Beg Tughai

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[127] B.N., II, PP.632-33, For reference see Appendix -XII.
[128] Ibid , PP. 632-33.
[129] Ibid , P.641.

were sent with gifts to each Mirza of 10,000 Shahrukhis, a coat and a belt with clasps. [130]

Through Mulla Bihishti were sent to Hindal an inlaid dagger with belt an inlaid ink-stand, a stool worked in mother-o' pearl, a tunic and a girdle, together with the alphabet of the Baburi script and fragment written in that script. To Humayun were sent the translation and verse made in Hindustan. To Hindal and Khwaja Kalan also the translation and verses were sent. They were also sent to Kamran, through Mirza Beg Tughai, together with headlines in the Baburi script. [131]

The buildings at Agra and Dholpur entrusted to the charge of Mulla Qasim, Ustad Shah Muhammad the stone-cutter, Mirak, Mir Ghiyas, Mr Sang Tarash and Shah Baba the spades man. Paymaster Sultan Muhammad joined bringing a servant of Khwaja Kalan, Shamsuddin Muhammad, for whose letters and information particularly about the affairs of Kabul became known.[132]

In the meantime Babur's three of paternal aunts, Begums of high rank, Gauhar-Shad Begum, Badi-ul Jamal Begum, AK Begum and of the Begums of inferior rank, Khan-Zadeh Begum, the daughter of Sultan Masud Mirza, another who was the daughter of Sultan Bakht Begum and another by name Zainab Sultan Begum, the grand daughter of Bikeh Chicham came to his court. [133]

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130 Ibid.
131 Ibid, P.642.
132 Ibid.
133 Memoirs of Babur, tr. Leyden & Erskine, II, P.345.

In the memoirs several references of Central Asian nobles have been given who attended the grand feast. Babur says 'on my right , at the distance of five or six gaz, Sat Bughan Sultan, Askari and the venerable Khwaja's family, Khwaja Abdul Shahid, Khwaja Kalan, Khwaja Hussaini, Khalifa and other comers from Samarqand, dependents of the Khwaja, readers of the Koran, and Mullas. On my left, at an interval of five or six gaz were seated Muhammad Zaman Mirza, Autenk Itmish Sultan, Sayed Rafi, Syed Rumi, Shaikh Abdul Fateh, Shaikh Jamali, Shaikh Shahabuddin Arab and Syed Dakni. [134]

Before the dinner, all the Khans, Sultans, grandees and Amirs were offered congratulatory presents of red, white and black money with cloth and other articles. After the Dinner Mulla Farruk Hafiz and those who were with them received gowns of cloth. On the ambassador of Kuchin Khan and the younger brother of Hasan Chalebi were bestowed robes of muslin with rich buttons and dresses of honour suited to their rank. The servants of Babur's daughter Maasumeh and his son Hindal, received vests ornamented with buttons and dresses of honour made of rich cloth.[135]

After the conquest of Khanua, Babur granted the territory of Mewat to Hussain Taimur Sultan who had been honoured with the title of 'brother and given tabeens' and despatched in that direction. [136] Muhammad Zaman Mirza fled from Balkh and came to court. He was made the Hakim of Agra. [137] The

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[134] Ibid , PP. 358-360.
[135] Ibid .
[136] B.N. , II, PP. 578-79.
[137] Ibid , P.606; T.F. , II, P.61.

ambassadors who had come from the Qizil-bashes, Uzbegs and the Hindus were given scale-pans of gold and silver. The deserving, the syeds and the rest also received favours. [138]

Khwandmir the author of Habib-us-Siyar, Maulana Shahabuddin Manumai, Mirza Ibrahim Qanuni, Mr. Abdul Baqa, Shaikh Zainuddin Sadar who had come from Herat were experts in their fields received favours and joined the group of courtiers.[139] The amirs, Khans and the leading men brought presents suitable to their condition and fulfilled the requisites of celebratation. [140]

In Agra Sadiq was given 10,000 tankas, a saddled horse, a head to foot Jacket with buttons. [141] At this moment Muhammad Zaman Mirza received the Jaunpur country and was presented with a royal head to foot, a sword and belt, a tipuchaq horse and an umbrella. The Diwan of Bihar was entrusted to Murshid 'Iraqi'. [142] The guardon was bestowed on Asian Timur Sultan and Tukhta Bugha Sultan of swords and daggers with belts, cuirasses, dresses of honour and tipuchaq horses. Subsequently they paid allegiance. Asian Timur Sultan was granted 36 lakhs from the Narnul paragna while Tukhta Bugha Sultan for 30 lakhs from that of Shamsabad. [143]

On this occasion Mahim Begum came and Hindu Beg who had come as an escort to her was sent to Sambhal on account of the death of

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[138] Ibid , PP. 619-620.
[139] Alexandor Dow, op.cit , II, P.133.
[140] B.N. , II, P.637; A.N., I, PP. 280-282.
[141] Ibid , P.652.
[142] Ibid , P.662.
[143] B.N. , II, P.677.

'Ali-i-Yusuf. [144] At the same time the Qizilbash envoy Murad was made to put on an inlaid dagger with belt and a befitting dress of honour was presented with 2 lakhs of tankas and leave was given to go. [145]

On the festival day Hindu Beg was presented with a special head-to-foot, an inlaid dagger with belt. Hasan-i-ali, well known among the Turkomans was bestowed a pargana worth 7 lakhs. [146] Akbarnama mentions that during the last stage of Babur's life, Khwaja Khalifa, Qambar Ali Beg, Tardi Beg and Hindu Beg were in attendance. [147]

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[144] Ibid , P.685.
[145] Ibid , P.689.
[146] Ibid .
[147] A.N. , II, PP. 276-277.

CHAPTER–4

HUMAYUN'S NOBILITY (i) 1530-1540 (First phase)

Composition of the Nobility

Upon the death of Babur, Prince Humayun ascended the throne with the support of Amir Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa on 29th Jan, 1530.[1] Muhammad Zaman Mirza, another great lord of the court, a descendant of Timur was a grandson of the celebrated Sultan Hussain Mirza Baiqara of Khorasan and who had also married a daughter of Babur was supposed to have many of the most powerful men in the army. Muhammad Sultan Mirza also a descendant of Timur and grandson of the late Sultan of Khorasan by a daughter was a noble man who from his royal birth and high station was thought worthy to aspire to the throne.[2]

The new emperor's act was to forgive and to forget.Gulbadan tells us that Humayun was pleased to order, 'Let each keep the office and the service and lands and residence and let each serve in the old way.'[3] This statement of Gulbadan Begum gives the impression that the ranks and offices which had been held by men in the service of Babur were

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1 Elliot & Dowson, op. cit, V, See Extract of Tabaqat-I Akbari, p.188.
2 Erskine, op.cit., II,p.3.
3 R.S. Avasthy, The Mughal Emperor Humayun, Allahabad, 1967,p.63.

confirmed to them in pursuance of his father's policy .[4] The officers expressed their devotion and the chiefs and nobles were treated with great kindness.[5] The mansabs of many Afghan nobles were confirmed and raised.[6] A few of them like Alam Khan Lodi, son of Jalal Khan Jighat and Taj Khan Lodi sarang Khani held the entire sarkars of Kalpi and chunar with considerable followings respectively.[7] Khwaja Khalifa in his declining years continued in all probability to function as Prime–Minister.[8]

Mahdi Khwaja, son-in-law of Babur retained the governship of Kalpi and also probably of Etawah, became a great force in politics. Khwaja Muqim also remained in royal service. Among the new entrants into the imperial service mention may be made of Maulana Muhammad Parghari who became one of the Emperor's chief advisors and of Bairam Khan Bharlu (the famous Khan Khanan) who became the seal bearer.[9]

At the same time Mirza Hindal joined from Badakshan and he was received with great kindness. He was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures of former kings. He received the district of Mewat

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4 H.N., p.110.
5 Elliot and Dowson, op.cit.V, see Extract from Tabqat-i Akbari, p.188.
6 H.N.,p.110.
7 Erskine, op. cit., II, p.9.
8 R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. , p.63.
9 Ibid,p.63.

in Jagir.[10] The Punjab, Kabul and Kandhar were settled as the jagir of Mirza Kamran.Sambhal was given to Mirza Askakri. Every one of the Amirs also received an increase of his Jagirs.[11]

Upon the siege of the fort of Kalinjer, Humanyn made a treaty of the Raja of Kalinjer and gladly gave a large sum of money for the withdrawal. The Raja of Kalinjer expressed his concern and urged himself among the supporters of the throne. The governor of it also submitted and sent twelve mauns of gold with other presents.[12] In response, Humayun gave regard to his requests and entreaties and forgave him.[13]

When Sher Khan came to know the approach of the conquering army, he left his son Jalal Khan with a number of trusty persons in the fort and came out himself. Afterwards he sent his second son, Abdur-Rashid to serve his Majesty for some time. His son remained in the service for long time but afterwards he fled from the imperial camp.[14]

Sulaiman Mirza, Humayun's cousin was confirmed in the government of the small Kingdom of Badashahah[15] while the eastern fron tiers were guarded by Sultan Junaid Barlas from his

[10] Elliot and Dowson, op.cit.,V. see Extract from Tabqat-I Akbari,p.188.
[11] Ibid;Erskine, op.cit. II,p.9.
[12] Ibid; Ibid.
[13] A.N., I, p.288.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Erskine, op.cit, II, p.7.

headquarters at Jaunpur [16]. In view of Kamran's intension of invading India, he was allowed to add the countries of Peshwar and Lamghan to the territories which he already enjoyed.[17] In order to express his gratitude Kamran addressed several odes to Humayun and assured his attachment and fidelity. In return this royal poet was rewarded by bestowing the rich province of Hisar Firoze.[18]

Thus Humayun continued his father's policy of allowing his brothers to govern freely the territories he possessed.[19] The Mirza always kept up appearance and continued in obedience and became the respectable of many favours. After the defeat of Sultan Mahmud, the son of Sikandar Lodi, all the chiefs and nobles were welcomed and honoured with robes and Arab horses. At this movement Humayun distributed among the officers of his court and army no less than twelve thousand Khilats or honorary dresses, two thousand of which were richly embroidered and ornamented with precious stones.[20]

After the battle of Daurah, Humayun arranged all his court circle (nobility) into the three fold division under the category of Ahli-i Daulat "men of prosperity". Ahl-i –sadaat or "men of success", and Ahli-

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[16] S.K.Baneerjee, Humayun Badshah, Vol.I, Calcatta, p.28.
[17] Erskine, op.cit., II, p.7.
[18] Ibid.,pp.8,9.
[19] S.K.Baneerjee, op. cit,I, pp.29-30.
[20] Erskine, op.cit., II, p.10.

Murad "officers of desire". Khwandmir writers in the Qanun-i-Humayuni that the King had three arrows made of gold and each of these pertained to the three classes Daulat, Saadat and Murad. The arrow of Daulat was entrusted to Shujauddin Amir Hindu Beg Bahadur who looked after the affairs of officers, ministers and soldiers. The arrow of Saadat was assigned to Maulana Parghali or Fargharli who managed the affairs of the learned the administration of sayurghal. The arrow of Murad was entrusted to Amir Uwais Muhammad who looked after buildings and other things of pomp.[21]

It may be observed that Humayun adopted a reconciliatory policy towards Indian ruling elite. The Ulema and mashaikh were befriended and given maintenance grants liberally. While the members of old aristocratic families got honourable positions at the court, sometimes even at the cost of the Turani nobility. S.K. Baneerjee mentioned that the poets and learned men were also among the courtiers of Humayun's Court and were collectively known as Ahl-i sadat. Among the poets may be mentioned Shaikh Zainuddin Khafi wafi, Maulana Janubai Badakhshi, the enigmatist, Maulana Nadiri Samarqandi, Shaikh Abdul

[21] Ishwari Prasad, The Life and Times of Humayun, Orient Longmans Ltd. Calcutta, 1955, p.52.

wajid Farighi, Jami Tamannai, Haider Tuniyani, shah Tahir Khwandi Dakhani, Khwaja Ayyub, Qasim Kahi and Shaikh Jamali.[22]

There were a number of religious saints living in Humayun's time. Besides the poets and religious saints, Humayun's court was full of other learned men who engaged themselves in the different branches of learning. They were called hakims and Maulanas.[23] In this respect S.K. Baneerjee mentions the list of those names.[24] With their support the emperor tried to win over the confidence of the Indians as they were leaders of Indian public opinion. The nobles, ulema and mashaikh stood between the Indian masses and the Mughal court.[25]

During this period some of the nobles were given posts like Khwaja Amid-ul-Mulk who was appointed as the minister incharge. The charge of the Air Department was entrusted to Khwaja latfullah. The portfolio of the water Department was in the charge of Khwaja Hasan. The management of the Earth Department was under the charge of Khwaja Jalaluddin Mirza Beg. [26] Amir Nasir Quli was the head of the Fire Department and was always dressed in red. Subsequent to this, Amir Nihal was appointed to the same office and the

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22 S.K.Baneerjee, op.cit., II, Maxwell Company, Lucknow, 1941, p.366.
23 Ibid, pp. 372-375.
24 Ibid, for reference see Appendix-XIII, S.K. Benerjee, op.cit. II, p.372.
25 I.H.Siddiqui, Mughal Relations with The Indian Ruling Elite, Munshiram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1983, p.67.
26 Q.H., p.35.

superintendent of all the four Department was the most learned man, Amir Uwais Muhammad.[27] There were others such as Khwaja Abdul Majid, Khwaja Sultan Ali and Khwaja Ataullah who obtained minor appointment in the finance department and later rose to be its head.[28]

In the last week of Oct.1530, the leading nobles like Fateh Khan, Qutb Khan and Umar Khan Lodi turned against the Mughals and joined Bahadurshah in Mahmudabad. About the time of the battle of Daura in August, 1532 A.D. Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and his sons Tatar Khan and Fateh Khan also took shelter with the king of Gujrat. All these refugees who took shelter at the Gujrat court were related to Sultan Bahlol Lodi.[29]

Besides Humayun's three brothers, the Mirza brothers, grandsons of Sultan Hussain Baiqare who were pure Timurids and considered their claims almost as good as those of the sons of Babur. Chief of them was Muhammad Zaman Mirza, son of Badi-u-Zaman, the husband of Babur's daughter Masuma Begum . He made a serious attempt to overthrow the present government of Humayun. He was

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[27] Ibid, pp. 35-36.
[28] R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p.64.
[29] Ibid,p.128.

supported by other miscreants like Muhammad Sultan Mirza with his two sons Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza.[30]

Upon the defeat of above miscreants Humayun ignored their crimes and adopted his conciliatory policy and confirmed their Jagirs. Muhammad Zaman Mirza had been given back his Jagirs in Bihar and Muhammad Sultan Mirza in Qanauj. Zaman Mirza was made governor of Bihar and Humayun did a special honour to Masuma by giving her the most costly tent during his campaigns out of Agra.[31]

In 1534, the two Mirzas raised their heads and made an alliance themselves with another less distinguished prince, wali Khub Mirza. After becoming prisoner, the two Mirzas were blinded and Muhammad zaman Mirza somehow escaped the extreme corporal punishment with the help of yadgar Beg Taghai. He fled to Sultan Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujrat who royally received Zaman Mirza and even treated him with flattering distinctions .[32] At the sametime Muhammad sultan Mirza with his two sons Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza went to Kanauj and there raised a rebellion.[33]

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30 Ibid,p.133.
31 S.K. Baneerjee, op.cit., I, p.68.
32 R.S. Avasthy, op.cit.,p.133.
33 Elliot and Dowson, op.cit, V, See Extract from Tabaqat-I Akbari, p.189.

The titles mentioned by Khwandmir are indicative of Humayun's love of grandeur.[34] On the day of the grand feast the great learned Sheikh Wahid-ud-din Abdul Wajd was favoured with the title of the Amir-ush-shura (Poet Lauret). The most clever and eloquent Maulana Shihabuddin Ahmad Muimmai was raised to the skies by the title of Amir-uz-Zurfa (Lord of Witty persons). The chosen of the Sayyids, Amir Hasan was given the title of Amir-us-sadat (Lord of Prayers) and the most respected of the nobles Diya-uddin Nur Beg as Amir-uz-Zakat (Lord of Alms). The great noble Amir Rida obtained the title of Amir-i-Hajj (Lord of Pilgrimage). The best of the pre-eminent nobles Amir Qasim Muhammad Khalil was granted the title of Amir-i-Lutf (Lord of Favours) and through him royal favours were extended to other wishers of the government. Amir Baba Ishaq Agha was designated Amir-i-Ghadab (Lord of Wrath) and through him all wicked people were turned out of the world protecting court. Amir-shah Hussain was entitled Amir-i Faraghat and Khwand mir received the title of Amir-ul Akhbar (Lord of chronicles).[35]

Similarly during the early years of Humayun's reign a number of Indian nobles remained in the service of the Mughals. The author of the

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[34] Ishwari Prasad, op.cit., p.54 for reference see Appendix-XIV; Rita Joshi, Afghan Nobility under the Mughals, 1526-1707, New Delhi, Vikas Pub., 1985. P. 224.

[35] Q.H. , p.42.

Qanun-i Humayuni while describing the festivities of Nauroz in the year 1534 gives a list of nobles who were given rewards.[36] In that list the names of the following nobles occur. The highest honour was conferred on Jalal Khan son of Sultan Alauddin who was favoured with the grant of clours and Kettle drums.[37]

Amongst the Turkish nobles the most intimate officer of the special Assembly and the courtiers of the select Assembly Amir Uwais Muhammad, the elegance of whose manners was adorned by his polite disposition; the great noble man and the most virtuous Nadim Beg, the keeper of the King's seal and who held the rank of Kukultash to the king; the most selected of the nobles, Amir Jalal, Baba-i Quchin and Amir Nizamuddin Abdul Gaffar Tuwaji, Amir Muhtaram, Amir Haji Muhammad Koki. Amir Ashiq Bakawal had their boasting heads raised to the top of Ayyuq by the grant of standards.[38]

Gulbadan mentions the names of the royal ladies who were present at the mystic feast which was held by the Emperor's order.[39] There were also the Afghan chiefs Mohammud Khan sarwani, Jalal Khan son of Nasir Khan and Jalal Khan son of Darya Khan who were

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[36] Afzal Hussain, op.cit. , p.4.
[37] Q.H., p.71, For reference see Appendix –XIV.
[38] Ibid.
[39] H.N., pp. 120-125, For reference see Appendix-XV.

exalted and dignified with the grant of the same honour. Amir Turk Ali, sheikh Kauran, Qadi Majd-ud-din, Bahadur Khan, Qutb Khan, son of Sher Khan were each dignified by the award of a wollen coat and were thus able to place their feet on the seats of the nobles.[40]

The great religious and pious shaikh Khwaja Taqi-ud-din Baqi Bayazid Khan son of Muhammad Khan Jathari and Gadai Khan each received the favour of a stirrup and thus they were admitted into the service. The great noble Amir Wali Beg, Amir Yamqurachi and the most virtous Maulana Muhammad Shah presented very pleasing Qasidahs and they were all dignified with rewards of horses and costly robes of honour. Likewise Khwaja Ghiyasuddin 'Ali Mustaufi was honoured and exalted by the high grant of the crown of dignity and several robes of honour.[41]

On the occasion of Humayun's birthday, princes Muhammad Hindal Mirza and Yadgar Nasir Mirza were presented with crowns and valuable robes of honour. They were also rewarded with Arabian horses adorned with golden saddles, quivers and golden trappings. In the same manner rich robes of honour was granted to Abdullah Sultan and Sultan Ali Mirza.[42]

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40 Q.H., p.71.
41 Ibid, pp.71-,76.
42 Ibid, p.78

Amir Mubariz-ud-din Fakhr Ali and several other governors of provinces also received valuable robes of honour from the ward-robe of the King's generosity and treated very graciously. Mirza Qasim Arghun was exalted his compeers by the grant of the insignia of his rank. The most noble Yusuf Beg son of Ibrahim Taqhai and Amir Muhammad Hussain Kapak Bafi and Amir Baba Ghadab Begi had the honour of being favoured with woollen robes of honour and they were promoted in their positions and ranks.[43]

In the same manner Ustad Ali Quli Topchi was distinguished from amongst his equals and colleagues with the grant of a crown, a robe of honour of brocade, a jeweled dagger and an Arab horse. Khwaja Ghiyasuddin Yusuf, who some reasons had been removed from the office of a secretary, was invested with a crown and a special robe of honour and the light of unlimited royal favour. Khwaja Shah Mahmud was also raised on that day to the high post of the Wizarat. He was dressed in royal apparels as a mark of dignity.[44]

After the battle of Dorah, Humayun's faith in his Indian nobles grew stronger. As no hope was left of the revival of the Lodi power, the Hindu Rais and Rajas in the eastern territories also changed their

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[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid, pp.78-79.

attitude towards new ruler. Humayun made sincere efforts to win them to his side and build up his power with their help. Likewise, the piece of information contained in the Qanun-i Humayuni tends to show that Afghan nobles gave loyalty who remained in his service. In 1533, he raised certain Indo-Afghan nobles to prominent positions at his court. They were most probably the descendants of the old nobles who might have passed away by this time. [45]

As regards the other Afghan chiefs, Humayun suppressed the rebellion of Bibban Khan and Bayazid. The latter lost his life and the former fled away to Bengal.[46]But as soon as the Afghan resistance grew stronger, the Afghan nobles started defecting.[47] At the same time, a large number of them migrated to Gujrat as they had been defeated in the battle of Dorah. The relevant evidence available in different sources showed that except Sher Khan Sur almost all the nobles had fled from Bihar to Gujrat and incited Bahadur Shah to plan a massive attack on the Mughal empire.[48]

Bahadur Shah welcomed the Afghan nobles and enrolled them in his service. Most among them were Fath Khan Sarwani (son of Azam

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[45] Ibid, p.98
[46] M.T., I, p.452; A.N., I, pp.293-98.
[47] Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, 'Political Role of the Refugees under Sultan Bababur Shah, I.H.C. 1972. P. 406.
[48] M.T., I, p.452.

Humayun Sarwani, Sultan Sikandar's muqta of the Vilayat of Kara and Manikpur), Baban Khan Lodi (Shahukhail), Mallik Chand Dattu Sarwani and Maruf Farmuli.The Aghan leaders like Alam Khan Lodi and Tatar Khan and others adorned his court. They were also treated in a banner befitting their status. According to Mushtaqi, Sultan Bahadur Shah made all possible efforts to make them happy with him as their support was considered essential for the conquest of north India against the Mughals.[49]

Upon the siege of Chittor by Bahadur Shah, the Rajputs requested Humayun for help and promised to pay him one Lakh tankas at every stage on the way. Though Humayun is reported to accept their offer but he did not adopt any aggressive policy in this respect.[50] Similarty upon the siege of Mandu, several of Bahadur's best men joined Humayun including the artillery men Rumi Khan who was publicly honoured with a robe and admitted into royal service. Khudaband Khan was similarly distinguished with profuse.[51] After the capture of the fort of Mandu, Sadr Khan was received with particular

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[49] Iqtidar Hussain Sidiqui, op.cit, I.H.C., 1972 p. 406.
[50] Shaikh Ruknud-Din, Latif-I Quddusi, Delhi, p.75.
[51] R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. p.174.

THESIS

favour and taken into the imperial service.[52] The emperor himself warmly congratulated him on the gallantry.[53]

Shortly after Ikhtiyar Khan received assurance of safety and came out of the fort of champanir and rendered homage. He was kindly received by the emperor and he was appointed as the Emperor's private advisor. After the victory over Ahmadabad of the Mughal dominions with the city of Ahmadabad as the seat of the government. The whole Mughal territory was divided into five divisions which was given under the charge of the following nobles :-[54]

(i) Yadgar Nasir Mirza as governor of Nahrwala or Pattan.

(ii) Mir Buchaka as governor of Mahmudabad.

(iii) Dost Beg Ishaq Aqa as governor of Cambay and Baroda.

(iv) Qasim Hussain Sultan as governor of Bharoach, Navsari and Surat.

(v) Tardi Beg confirmed in champanir.

Mir Hindu Beg was appointed as the commander–in-chief of the new dominion. Khan-i Jahan shirazi and other Amirs were deputed to help the governors of that region. Subsequent to this, Ghaznafar one of his foster- brothers and the brother of Qasim Hussain Sultan fled and

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[52] T.A., II, p.52.
[53] Ishwari Prasad, op.cit., p.76.
[54] T.A., II, p.52.

joined Sultan Bahadur at Diu.[55] During this period of time Askari Mirza was declared Emperor and assigned at the same time suitable appointment to all the other Mirzas and officers who joined them.[56]

Upon their defeat, the Mirzas submitted and paid obedience. Humayun became satisfied with their explanations and pardoned Askari and his other nobles and none of them were punished. Rather after his return to Agra, Humayun appointed Hindu Beg as his governor in Jaunpur and further favoured him with the title of Amir-al-Umara. Mirza Yadgar Nasiir was also likewise appointed as the governor of Kalpi.[57]

Delhi and its envious were entrusted to Mir Fakhr Ali, Agra and its suburbs to Mir Muhammad Bakhshi, and Kalpi and its dependencies to Yadgar Nasir Mirza.The government of the important and the strategic outpost of Qanauj was taken from Khusrau Beg Kokultash probably because he had failed to hold his influence against Muhammad Sultan Mirza. It was now placed incharge of Nur-al-Din Muhammad Mirza, the Emperor's brother-in-law, who had married a daughter of Babur.[58]

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[55] R.S. Avasthy, op.cit., p.211.
[56] Erskine, op.cit. , II, p.88.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., p.139.

Upon the death of Bahadur Shah in 1537 a few of the Afghan Chiefs immigrated from Gujrat to Bihar and joined Sher Khan.[59]Those nobles who were inclined towards sultan Mehmud now joined Sher Shah to support him in his designs to revive the lost Afghan power.[60]

In appears that Humayun became dependant on the Mughal nobility and realized that Afghans remained no more reliable. Therefore, he stopped enrolling the Afghan nobles in his army. Consequently the numerical strength of the Afghan nobles began to decline and a stage came when they hardly enjoyed any influence at the Mughal court. Being deprived of their power, influence, Jagirs and posts a large number of them joined Sher Khan. Only Khan-i-Khanam, Dilawar Khan, Yusuf Khail played any significant role. Dilawar Khan, Yusuf Khan had advised Humayun not to re pose too much faith in his fellow Afghan Chiefs.[61]

As regards the eastern campaigns Mirza Askari and Mirza Hindal accompanied him while among the officers were Ibrahim Beg Kabuq, Jauhar Quli Beg, Khusrau Beg Kukultash, Tardi Beg Khan, Quc Beg Kukultash, Tardi Beg of Etawah, Bairam Khan, Qasim

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[59] Abbas Khan Sherwani, Tarikh-I Shershahi or Tahfa-i Akbar Shahi tr. Brahmaler Pradesh Ambasht ya, Patna, 1994 p.252(abbreviated as T.Sh.)

[60] Ibid,p.253.

[61] Ibid,pp.253-255.

Hussain Khan Uzbek, Buka Beg, Zahid Beg, Post Beg, Beg Mirak, Haji Muhammad son of Baba Qushka, Yaqub Beg,Nihal Beg, Mughal Beg and a large number of other distinguished men.[62]

In the meantime, Humayun's dear sister Masuma Sultan Begum, the Mirza's wife in Agra requested to pardon about the Mirza's guilt and had received an order of reconciliation. Humayun forgave his offences. Upon his arrival a large number of high officers were sent to meet him. Mirza Askari and Mirza Hindal went out in accordance with the lofty commands and embraced him. He was treated with royal favours. Twice he was exalted in one assembly by a special Khilat, a belt a sword and a horse.[63]

Inspite of the desertion of Afghan nobles there were certain Afghan and sheikhzedas who remained loyal to Humayun until his conquest of Bengal. Among the prominent nobles of Indian origin, sheikh Ghuran had died in Mandu in 1535-36. Araish Khan also appears to have died by this time. The various writers on the war between Humayun and Sher Shah Sur give information about only four such nobles. Most important of them were Khan Khanan Yusuf Khail Lodi and Shah Muhammad Farmuli, the muqta of the sarkar of Saran

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[62] A.N., I, p.330.
[63] Ibid

since the time of Babur. The other two were Mubarak Farmuli and Abdul Fateh Langah who accompanied Humayun on his Bengl campaign.[64]

Khana-Khanan Lodi was captured by Masna-i 'Ali Khwas Khan in Monghyr and then put to death by Sher Khan's order for his treachery to the Afghan cause.[65] Shah Muhammad Forumuli was also arrested and thrown in an iron cage.[66] Mubarak Farmuli and Abul Fath Langah were killed along with several Mughals in the encounter that took place between Jalal Khan and Jahangir Quli Beg who was the commander of the Mughal advance guard while proceeding to Gaur.[67]

After the conquest of chunar, grand darbar was held at which promotions and honourary dresses were granted to meritorious officers. Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza came to Humayun and sought the prostrations of obedience. Humayun forgave them and treated them with royal favours.[68] In recognition of Rumi Khan's service, he was appointed as the governor of the newly

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64 I.H. Siddiqui, History of Shershah, Dwadash Shrehi, Aligarh pp. 38-9, 68.
65 Ibid, p.68
66 T.A., II, p.120.
67 T.Sh, pp.123-24.
68 A.N., I, p.330.

conquered fort, but he was shortly after poisoned by his Mughal comrades.[69]

In chunar, Nasir Shah, the ruler of Bengal came wounded to the court and explored help against Sher Khan.[70] Humayun received the unfortunate monarch with sympathy and encouraged him to keep up his spirits and assured him he would reinstate him in his Kingdom of Bengal.[71] Khan Khanan Yusuf Khail and Qasim Hussain Sultan were posted as governors in Mungher and Patna respectively long before.[72]

Afterwards the districts of Tirhut and Purnea was assigned to Mirza Hindal.[73] Upon the siege of Gaur by Sher Khan, Syed Mahmud Shah was compelled to abandon his Kingdom and soon after joined the camp of the Emperor. During this period Raj Birbaham rendered fitting and dutiful services.[74]

The success of Sher Shah combined with Humayun's attitude in Bengal created a feeling of acute demoralization and panic among the Mughal nobles. The inner tensions of the nobility came to the surface suddenly. Apparently Humayun had removed the confidence of a considerable section of the nobles about his capacity to lead them. They

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69 R.S. Avasthy, op.cit, p.272.
70 Erskine, op.cit., II, p.143.
71 A.N., I, p.338.
72 R.S. Avasthy, op.cit. , p. 290.
73 Ibid,p.290.
74 H.N., p.136.

adopted a mutinous attitude and a number of them deserted the army in Bengal by escaping to their Jagirs in the Doab.[75]

When Humayun proposed to appoint Zahid Beg to be governor of Bengal then he refused to comply his order. On this behaviour Humayun enraged at this unreasonable and insolent speech and threatened that he would put him to death. Zahid Beg, however, escaped from the council and sent a message to the Begum, entreating her to intercede for his pardon. As a result he was obliged to fly privately from the camp along with Haji Muhammad Koka, Dindar Beg, Mirza Nazr, Sayid Amir and Dewana Beg. The government of Bengal was given under the charge of Jahangir Quli Beg, a gallant veteran.[76]

On the other hand the Mughal officers in the Doab were completely paralysed because of the sharp differences among themselves. Some of the important nobles mainly the deserters from Bengal were openly supporting for placing one of Humayun's brothers on the throne.At this time Mirza Hindal was led by evil companions to execute wicked designs.[77] Mirza Muhammad Nuruddin reported the arrival of the deserted nobles to Hindal and requested him that they

[75] Erskine, op.cit. , II, p.135.
[76] Ibid,p.153.
[77] T.A., II, p.67.

should be personally received. Mirza Hindal sent friendly letters to them by Muhammad Ghazi Tughbai who was one of the Mirza's confidants. He also wrote explanations of their arrival to Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Mir Fakhr Ali.[78]

The officers who were with Mirza Nuruddin Muhammad did not wait for an answer but came to Aligarh which was Zahid Beg's fief. These disloyalists expressed. "Hence forth we don't serve the King, if you, as you have already purposed, will have the Khutba read in your own name, we will into your service and render you faithfully allegiance, otherwise we shall go to Mirza Kamran where happiness and welcome are awaiting for us." Muhammad Ghazi Tughbai secretly informed the officer's message to Hindal. In response to this Mirza Hindal did with promises of kind treatment for those traitors and confirmed them in their evil purpose.[79]

At this very juncture sheikh Bahlul who had been sent by Humayun from Gaur, on a mission to the Mirza Hindal came to Agra. He was one of the great shaikhs of India and the recipient of royal favour from Bengal to advise to refrain the Mirza from evil thoughts and induce him to act with one accord in suppressing the Afghans. He

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[78] A.N., I, pp.336-37.
[79] Ibid.

brought with him assurances from Humayun's forgiveness for his past misconduct as well as every favour and exaltation for the future.[80] Hindal went out to welcome him and brought him with honour and respect to his own house.[81]

During this existing development Nuruddin Muhammad who had entered entirely the views of the fugitive lords came from Kanauj. He once more produced a change in the mind of the Mirza. Consequently shaikh Bahlul was captured by Nuruddin by the order of Hindal and put to death. The rebellious Amirs came to Agra where Hindal was proclaimed emperor and the public prayers were read and money coined in his name.[82] Though on this occasion the chaste of Dildar Aghacha Begum, Mirza Hindal's venerable mother and other Begums did not approve this act but their effort was absolutely useless.[83]

After reading Khutba in his own name, Mirza Hindal came before his mother. The Mirza said, "What kind of dress is that you have at such a time of rejoicing?" That cupola of chastity replied, out of her foresight "Why do you regard me? I am wearing mourning for you; you are young and have, from the instigation of irreflecting sedition

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[80] Erskine,op.cit. , II, p.162.
[81] A.N., I, p.337.
[82] Erskine, op.cit., II, p.164.
[83] A.N.I, p.338.

mongers lost the true way; you have girded your loins also for your own destruction". Muhammad Bakhshi came and said, you have killed the Shaikh; why do you delay about me?" The Mirza treated him kindly and took him with him.[84]

While Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Mir Fakhr Ali came to know this bad intension, they made a rapid march from kalpi via Gwalior to Delhi and took measures to protect the city. The Mirza and the officers consulted together to invest Delhi. Many of the petty jagirdars came and did homage to the Mirza.Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Mir Fakhr Ali sent an account of affairs to Mirza Kamran and requested him to come and suppress the sedition.[85]

It was under these circumstances that Mirza Kamran came to Delhi on the invitation of Mir Fakhar Ali and Yadgar Nasir Mirza. After Kamran's approach, Hindal abandoned the siege of Delhi and fled to Agra. Mir Fakhr Ali persuaded Kamran to proceed to Agra.[86]Upon Kamran's arrival, Hindal who had been joined by some of the Jagirdars of note fled with five thousand horse to Alwar, the capital of his government.[87]

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[84] Ibid, pp.339-40
[85] Ibid, p..340
[86] Erskine, op.cit. II, p.166.
[87] Ibid,

But his mother convinced him to offer submission to Kamran and return to Agra. In this submission he was joined by the turbulent Amirs who had espoused his cause. Even those nobles who had apparently through panic, earlier proclaimed Hindal King, submitted to Kamran.[88] Kamran behaved them with propriety. In the following day he forgave the seditio s officers and held a levee for them.[89] The whole confederates now apparently united in a common cause.[90]

In the battle of chausa, Muhammad Zaman Mirza, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Qasim Ali, the Sadr, or head of the law including many other officers of distinction perished on this day.[91] Raja Prabhan, a Rajput Chief, volunteered with his followers to check the advance of Mir Farid who wanted to capture Humayun who was proceeding to Agra after his defeat. At this time Darwish Maksud Bengali who was the only man of note who re-joined the Emperor.[92]

Prince Kamran knowing the defeat of Humayun by Sher Shah, came from Agra to Alwar to consult his brother Hindal. They were ashamed of their behaviour to their brother and thought to support him

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88 Ibid.
89 A.N., I,p.340.
90 Erskine, op.cit. II, p.166.
91 Ibid, p.173.
92 Ibid, p.174

at this juncture.[93] At Agra after the defeat of Humayun in chausa, the brothers embraced each other affectionately with many tears. Shortly after a grand feast was arranged in which all the Mirzas, the Chief Officers and Amirs were invited.[94] Jahangir Beg and Ibrahim Beg joined who were expelled from Bengal.[95] Hindal's desertion and his open assumption of royalty were pardoned at the intervention of his excellent mother and of Kamran.[96]

Many Amirs joined the Emperor with reinforcements from their Jagirs[97]At this moment Muhammad sultan Mirza and his sons who had for a time shown hostility offered their submission in the general cause against the Afghans. Their faults were pardoned and given the imperial protection.[98] Kamran, Hindal and other nobles who had joined decided to march against Sher Shah after discussing the matter amongst themselves[99] Tazkirat-ul-waqiat mentions the Princes and Nobles assured that "we will evince our bravery and attachments in such a manner as completely to sub due all your enemies.[100]

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[93] Alexander Dow, op.cit. II, p.150; Elliot and Dowson, op.cit. V, See Extract from Tabaqat-i Akbari, p.20; M.T., I, p.462.
[94] Erskine, op.cit., II, p.178; A.N., I, p.345.
[95] Elliot and Dowson , op.cit. V., Extract from Tabaqat-i Akbari, p.204; T.F. II, 11.87-88; Dow Alexandar, op.cit, p.150.
[96] Erskine, op.cit. , II, p.178; A.N., I, p.345.
[97] Ibid, p.179.
[98] T.F.II,pp. 68-88; Elliot and Dowson, op.cit.,V see Extractr from Tabaqat-I Akbari, p.204.
[99] A.N. I, p.340.
[100] T.W. p.20.

During this period of time Kamran was not entirely satisfied with the Humayun's handling of the situation.[101] Simultaneously the fugitive amirs wanted to create the breach between the brothers.[102] They sought to convince him that to destroy the enemy and to help the Emperor may become the cause for his own destruction. In consequence to such false and shallow reasoning, Kamran changed his mind[103] and withdrew from his brother's council[104] He did not allow his troops to be placed at the disposal of Humayun, inspite of the latter's explanations and appeals to brotherly sentiments. He made an effort to reduce such of the emperor's officers and troops to accompany him.[105]

Khwaja Kalan Beg, Kamran's minister deserted with a large force to Lahore. But several of Kamran's officers were persuaded to remain Mirza Haider Doghlat son of Mirza Hussain Ghuran, who was the cousin of Babur disgusted with his conduct. He deserted his company and joined Humayun to whom he was afterwards remained in great service.[106] On his proposed desertion Kamran remonstrated and reminded him that he had received him in his court where he was exiled

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[101] A.N.. p.347.
[102] T.F. II, p.24.
[103] Erskine, op.cit., II, p.167.
[104] T.F. II, p.24.
[105] M.T.I, p.463.
[106] Ibid.

from his own country.[107] On the other hand, Haider tells us that he had become the Emperor's brother after the Mughal fashion. The Emperor never spoke to him nor addressed him, even in his public firmans, by any other name than of brother and friend, a distinction shown to none of the sultans of the court, nor even to his own brothers.[108]

Ultimately, however, Kamran agreed to remain at Agra with his troops. In fact he sent a token force of three thousand under his brother- in –law, Mirza Abdullah Mughal, with the Emperor to Qanauj. Hindal, Askari and Mirza Haider Doghlat also accompanied Humayun.[109] Shortly after Humayun's departure for Qannauj, Kamran returned to Lahore, and in breach of his former agreement took the whole of his army with him, with the exception of two thousand men whom he left under the command of Sikandar Sultan Mirza. Mirza Haider the Mughal and Doghlat Kashmiri also remained at Agra and were kindly treated[110]

It was under such circumstances that Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons Ulugh Mirza and shah Mirza who were distinguished for their treachery and ingratitude once more deserted with all their

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[107] A.N.,I,p.347.
[108] Erskine, op.cit., II, p.182.
[109] A.N..I, p.350.
[110] M.T..I, pp.462-463.

adherents. Although a number of Kamran's auxiliary troops diverted and fled to Lahore.[111]The higher Amirs and especially the Chaghtai nobles were also induced to follow them.[112]

After the battle of Kanauj, Humayun was joined by Kasim Hussain Sultan Uzbek and several other Amirs in Delhi. Hindal and Askari Mirza took leave to proceed to their respective jagirs Alwar and Sambhal. But Hindal Mirza along with his mother Dildar Aghacha Begum and other ladies and Haider Mirza rejoined him at the village of Rahtak.[113]

Akbarnama gives the long list of nobles who remained at this time and went out of India.[114] All the sultans and Amirs of the chaghtai tribe assembled for conference in Lahore. But Mirza Muhammad sultan and his sons who had come to Lahore fled to Multan.[115] Mirza Kamran came forward to meet Humayun and did homage. Shortly after Mirza Askari came from sambhal and settled in the house of Amir Wali Beg. About the same time the fortunate shamsuddin Muhammad son of Mir

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[111] Ibid..p.463.
[112] T.F..II, p.90;T.R., II, p.474.

[113] Erskine, op.cit., II, p.195.
[114] A.N.I, pp. 221-22; For reference see Appendix –XVI.
[115] M.T., I, p.464; Elliot&Dowson, op.cit, V, Extract from Tabaqat-I Akbari, p.205.

Yar Muhammad who had given his help in escaping Humayun to Agra joined and was exalted by princely favours.[116]

[116] A.N., I, p.347.

(II)1540-1555 (SECOND PHASE) EMPEROR'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NOBILITY

All the noble brothers, Amirs and other servants who assembled at Lahore did not give sincerity to the existing problems of Humayun. Several times, they gathered together and made promises of unity and concord. Khwaja Khawand Mahmud brother of Khwaja Abdul Haq and MirAbdul Baqa frequently took part in the deliberations. As usual, this time all the Mirzas, nobles and grandees who were assembled wrote a deed (tazkira) of agreement and unanimity in which all the officers gave their signatures. But everyone of the members of agreement and nobles forgot the recent agreements and each declaimed according to his own good pleasure.[1]

At this moment of crisis, Mirza Kamran largely became sensible of his ungenerous conduct to his brother and expressed,[2] "what occurs to me is that the king and all the Mirzas should spend some days in the mountains while I take their families to Kabul. When I have put them into safety, I shall return and join you." Mirza Hindal and yadgar Nasir Mirza refuged to fight the Afghans. They advised to go to Bhakkar and Thatta and subdue them.[3]

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1 A.N.I,pp.335-356.
2 T.F. II, p.91.
3 A.N., I, p.337.

In the council everyone agreed to give support and cooperation to Humayun. But Kamran was making secret negotiations with sher shah who had arrived at Sultanpur on the bank of Beas. In this situation Mirza Kamran privately sent Qazi Abdullah his sadar to sher shah proposing friendly relations and making a contract of affection with him.[4]

In response to this Sher Khan welcomed to sadr. He gave him answer in accordance with the Mirza's requests. The sadr instigated him to make a hostile advance and held out prospect of desertion.[5] But sher khan did not want to allow Humayun or any of the Mirzas to stay within his territories. Prince Hindal and many of the assembled nobles were angry with Kamran and in their anger advised Humayun to avoid him so that the army might be united and all differences might disappear. But Humayun did not realize the actual situation and refused to accept the whole advice.[6]

Hindal Mirza, yadgar Nasir and Kasim Hussain sultan Uzbeg had been induced by Beg Mirak to set out on their proposed attempt on Gujrat[7] In the meantime, Humayun allowed Haider Mirza with a party to proceed

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4 Ibid., p. 359
5 Ibid.
6 S.K. Baneerjee, op. cit, II, pp.4-6.
7 Erskine, op. cit, II.,p.200.

towards Kashmir and promised a large contingent under Khwaja Kalan Beg would be sent to him.[8]

In Lahore, an envoy from Sher Shah met Humayun and the latter conveyed his disappointment at sher shah's unkind behaviour. In response to this Humayun sent envoys with offers of peace to sher shah. The agents repeated Humayun's words requesting the Afghan king to leave the Punjab to him. But sher shah refused to Humayun's request and answered "I have left you Kabul you should go there."[9]

At the sametime, kamran wanted to go to Kabul on the plea of bad health and asked leave of Humayun. 'If permission be given, I will go to Kabul, re-equip my self and come to join service.'[10] But the emperor was not convinced and suggested that he would be prepared to go and establish himself in Badakhshan leaving Kabul in Kamran's charge. However, Kamran made it clear that he was not agreeable to this proposal as he realized that the emperor had his eye upon Kabul. He further expressed his view, 'In his life time Babur gave Kabul to my mother. It is not right to go to Kabul'.[11]

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[8] Elliot and Dowson, op.cit, V, see Extract from Tabaqat-i-Akbari,p.206
[9] S.K. Baneerjee, op.cit., II, pp.10-11.
[10] Ibid., p.15.
[11] H.N, pp.146-147.

At this moment, Mirza Kamran after breaking his solemn vows agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humayun as far as the neighbourhood of Bhira.[12] Khwaja Kalan Beg who was in Sialkot and disposed to serve Humayun. Muiyid Beg, the companion of Kalan Beg wrote, 'The Khwaja greatly wishes to serve you and would come,but he has Mirza Kamran to consider. If your Majesty would come quickly his help would be made easy in an excellent way.'[13]

When Khwaja Kalan Beg wanted to declare himself in Humayun's favour, Kamran seized him in the house and his persons. The rude behaviour of kamran incited among the followers of Humayun to kill him. Among them Jabbar Quli Kurchi who offered to assassinate the Mirza.But Humayun did not agree to this and he burst forth, 'I refused this request when at Lahore and certainly will not agree to it now.....'.[14]

Probably Mirza Kamran suspected that Hamayun would try to reach Kabul and capture it by surprise. Therefore, with the intension of closing the road to Kabul he insisted on entering the defile first. But Humayun refused to give up his royal prerogative and the situation became tense. However, on the intervention of Mir Abdul Baqa, Humayun was allowed to

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[12] Elliot and Dowson, op.cit. V, see Extract from Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p.206; M.I., p.465.
[13] H.N. pp.146-147.
[14] S.K. Baneerjee, op.cit., II, p.16.

pass first. After Humayun's departure, M. Kamran declared himself formally king and had the Khutba in his name.[15]

At Multan, Kamran deserted and went to Kabul leaving Humayun to his fate. Mirza Askari and some other nobles such as Khwaja Abdul Haq and Khwaja Mahmud who were his partisans also accompanied him. Khwaja Kalan Beg who had promised to accompany earlier deserted from Sialkot and joined Kamran.[16] It appears that Muyid Beg Duldai, Ismail Beg Duldai, Zahid Beg, Amir Yunus Ali, Haji Muhammad Khan Koki and many other nobles of Humayun also followed.[17]

Moreover, Muhammad Sultan Mirza who had been in Multan with his two sons, now joined Kamran on the Indus. Sikandar Topchi deserted to the Sarang hills. Meanwhile, Hazi Abdullah came with some Afghans whom Mirza Hindal's scouts siezed them and brought them before Humayun. The Afghans were put to death but the wretched 'Abdullah escaped punishment at the intervention of Mir Baba Dost. Thus some of Humayun's brothers and cousins deserted him in his hour of distress.[18]

Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir also after accompanying Humayun for a few stages left him. But soonafter twenty days on the advice

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[15] Iqtidar Alam Khan, Mirza Kamran, A Biographical study, Bombay, 1964,p.8.
[16] A.N, I, p.359, S.K. Baneerjee, op.cit., II, p.18.
[17] Iqtidar Alam Khan, Mirza Kamran, op.cit., p.8.
[18] A.N., I, p.359; M.T., I, p.465.

of Mir Abdul Baka came back and made their submission.[19] During this time, the Gakkar leader, RaiSarang was well-wisher of the Mughals. One of their princes chose to come to join him. He befriended him, acted as his guide, took him to Dangali. RaiSarang and his brother Sultan Adam maintained their traditional loyalty towards the Mughals.[20]

At Uch, Humayun sent a rich Khilat by Beg Muhammad, Bakawal and Kachak Beg to Bakhshu Langa one of the land holders of that part. He also promised to bestow on him the title of Khan Jahan together with the priviledge of using a banner, Kettle drum and a siropa. When Bakhshu received Humayun's message, he probably did not care very much for an empty title from a dethroned and fugitive prince and so never visited in person.[21]

Although in response to this, Bakshu showed obedience and alacrity and also sent a proper present. Likewise he arranged for traders to bring articles for sale at the royal camp and provided many boats to enable royal party to cross the chenab. Humayun received a hundred boats full of corn and other provisions. Qazi Ghiyasuddin of Jam who was connected with the

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[19] T.A., II, p.76.
[20] S.K. Baneerjee, op.cit., II, p.19.
[21] A.N. I, p.362; H.N.,p.148.

illustrious family and was adorned with gifts and graces, was raised to the office of sadar.[22]

At Bhakkar, Humayun called upon sultan Mahmud to pay his respect and to hand over the fort to the royal servants. But sultan Mahmud excused on the ground that he was the servant of Mirza, shah Hussain and without his permission he would not submit the fort.[23] Humayun accepted his excuses and sent Mir Tahir sadr as ambassador to Shah Hussain Arghun ruler of Thatta and Samunder Beg, one of the councilors in charge of a horse and a robe of honour.They tried to persuade him to come and join his Majety and consult with him about the conquest of Gujrat.[24]

In response to Humayun's attitude, Mirza shah Hussain received the envoys with respect and sent shaikh Mirak, the descendants of shaikh Puran whom all the Arghunians respected and rely upon from old times, as a messenger and with a suitable present to accompany the royal ambassadors to the court. He invited Humayun to possess Haj Kan instead of Bhakkar and promised to enter into his service.[25]

Thus Shah Hussain Arghun allowed five or six months to pass on various pretexts and finally replied that the country of Bhakkar was

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22 Ibid; Ibid.
23 Ibid
24 T.A., II, p.77.
25 A.N., I, p.363.

extremely unproductive.[26] He now attempted to remove Humayun from his territories in a different manner. In this respect he sent shaikh Mirak who advised Humayun to march his troops to chachkan. Although Humayun was willing to act upon on the suggestion of shah Hussain's ambassador but his nobles rejected the offers and persuaded to make an attack on Bhakkar.[27]

While Humayun proposed Hamida Banu Begum to marry the daughter of Baba Dost then on this occasion Mirza Hindal objected and said; 'I look on this girl as a sister and child of my own.'[28] He became highly displeased and burst out 'you have not come here to comfort and encourage me, but have come rather to secure a bride for yourself. If you carry out your intentions, I shall leave you'. 'His own mother, Dildar Begum took the matter in her hand, rebuked and reproached her son in a words like, 'you are behaving rudely in the presence of the king, who nurtured you. Humayun too was highly annoyed and went away from the meeting.[29]

During this period, Mirza Hindal at the instigation of yadgar Nasir Mirza who was always secretly in opposition and persuasion of Qarach Khan who held the government of Kandhar on Mirza Kamran's behalf,

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[26] T.A., II, p.77.
[27] S.K. Benerjee, op.cit. II, p.28; Erskine, op.cit., II, p.217.
[28] H.N., pp.149-50.
[29] S.K. Benerjee, op.cit. II, p.35.

deserted to Qandhar. He also sent a man to yadgar Nasir Mirza to tell him of his own departure and to call upon him to do likewise. [30]

While knowing to this attempt on the part of Hindal to invite to come Yadgar Nasir Mirza from his camp, Humayun went to the quarter of Mir Abul Baqa and held a conference with him. Afterwards he sent him as an envoy to Yadgar Nasir Mirza to bring him to the right path of rectitude. Mir Abul Baqa brought the Mirza from going to Qandhar, with various councils, and promises.[31] On the death of Mir Abdul Baqa, Humayun showed great sorrow at his death.[32]

Shortly after, Yadgar Nasir Mirza came to pay homage to Humayun who became gracious to him. In the meantime, shaikh Mirak, the ambassador from Tatta was granted his cogne and a rescript was sent to shah Hussain to come and pay his respects.[33] Once more ruler of Sind promised everything on paper but actually never shown a desire of his Majesty's welfare and friendship.[34]

Meanwhile upon the siege of the fort of Sehwan, Shah Hussain completely stopped all provisions from reaching the imperial comp, either

[30] A.N., I, p.365; Erskine, op.cit. II, p.221.
[31] T.A., II, p.78.
[32] Ibid., p.79.
[33] A.N., I, p.366.
[34] T.A., p.79

by the river or by land.[35] On this occasion of sufferings the dishonest began to desert in numbers followed by several officers. Among them Mir Tahir Sadr, Khwaja Ghiyasuddin of Jam and Maulana Abdul-Baqi went off to the ruler of Tatha's camp, while Mir Barka, Mir Hasan, Zafar Ali, son of Faqr Ali Beg and Khwaja Muhib Ali Bakhshi joined to Yadgar Nasir Mirza[36] whom they instigated to set out without delay to Kandhar convincing affair in sind as entirely desperate.[37]

In order to escape from his increasing difficulties, Humayun had written to Hindal, requesting him to make a diversion in his favour. In consequence of this demand Yadgar sent a trifling body of 150 horse under Tardi Beg to his assistance.[38] In view of this development Mirza Shah Hussain also sent an emissary to Mirza Yadgar to persuade him to withdraw from his allegiance to his sovereign.[39] He offered to acknowledge yadgar as Emperor to read the Khutba in his name, to give him his daughter in marriage who was to succeed to the throne of Sind as her dower.[40]

The Mirza owing to his great delight was deceived by Shah Hussain and became hostile to Humayun.[41]It was at this crisis that at the desire of the

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[35] Erskine, op.cit., II, p.225.
[36] A.N., I, p.367.
[37] Erskine, op.cit., II, p.225.
[38] Ibid, p.227.
[39] T.A., II, p.82.
[40] Erskine, op.cit. II, p.228.
[41] T.A., II, p.82.

Arghun prince, Mirza Yadgar Nasir seized a ship that was loaded with grain and provisions for the supply of the royal camp and delivered it into the hands of the Shah Hussain who put the crew to death.[42] In response to the above act, Humayun sent Monim Beg, an officer of rank to offer explanations and at the sametime urged shah Hussain to withdraw from the pursuit and to show some sympathy to his sovereign in distress. But the shah Arghun who was highly irritated, refused to admit the envoy into his presence.[43]

On the other hands, many of the nobles did not follow him and others deserted and only few of his followers remained with him. After returning to Bhakkar Humayun desired boats from Yadgar Nasir to cross the river. But inspite of this Yadgar had sent privately to invite the Anghuns to come by night and sieze all the boats near Bhakker which they had done. At the end, however, two of the Zamindars of Bhakkar came and joined his Majesty and brought out some boats which had been submerged in the water.[44]

Knowing the problem of Humayun, Mirza Yadgar became ashamed . In order to make a show of fidelity, he killed some men of shah Hussain. Others were made prisoners and forced the rest to take refuse in their boats. The heads of the enemies were produced before Humayun. On return

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[42] Erskine, op.cit.II, p.228.
[43] Ibid. p.229.
[44] T.A., II, p.82.

Humayun again pardoned his sins and never uttered a single word of reproach.[45]

But the Mirza still confined his secret correspondence with shah Hussain and captured the two Zamindars from the guard whom he sent to shah Hussain. After this outrage, Yadgar openly assumed a hostile attitude and never afterwards returned to his allegiance.[46] In this state of great distress, Humayun sent an application by Tardi Beg and some others of his chief officers to Sultan Mahmud Bhakkari, the enemy whom he was besieging. Mahmud received the deputation with every honour presented them with dresses and gave each of them a sum of money and a portion of grain.[47]

In the council, the decision was taken to send the Emperor three hundred loads of grain for the use of his house hold.[48] During this period, owing to the universal distress the important officers of Humayun such as Kasim Hussain Sultan Uzbek went to Yadgar who induced Humayun's remaining followers to adbandon their master while he saw them reduced to

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[45] Ibid; Erskine, op. cit., II, p.232.
[46] Erskine,op.cit., II, p.232.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid

the last extremity due to the shortage of food grains, he sent them an express and open invitation to desert.[49]

On this occasion Fazal Beg intended to reduce his brother Munim Beg to leave the camp. After knowing this, Humayun said, 'Let him come and he shall meet with his deserts'. Knowing the plan of escape, Munim Beg was ordered to put into custody while Tardi Beg found himself obliged to remain in Humayun's company.[50] On account of his great disgrace, Mirza Yadgar Nasir became rebellious to give battle to Humayun and in this respect mounted his horse.[51]

In view of insecurity in Sind, Humayun accepted the invitation that had repeatedly been sent him by Maldeo[52] who expressed his allegiance and promised help in the recovery of Hindustan by way of Jaiselmer. But he changed his mind and ungenerously decided that if possible he would seize Humayun and hand over him to his enemy. At this time Atka Khan, however, understood from the manner and behaviour of Maldeo and came back without leave and reported to the imperial camp. After wards one of the

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[49] Ibid, p.233; T.A., II, p.83.
[50] Ibid; Ibid.
[51] T.A., II, p.83; M.T.,I, p.562.
[52] Erskine, op.cit. , II, p.238.

librarians of Humayun sent a petition to the royal court informing that Maldeo was meditating treachery.[53]

At this state of affair, the several of them did secretly desert and he could not check the great body of his followers from dispersing. When the Emperor's men demanded several horses and camels of Tardi Beg who refused to give them. At the same time, Nadim Koka who was leading a horse made his mother dismount, presented her horse to the Emperor and seated her on the Emperor's camel.[54]

The Raja of Jaisalmer sent two messengers to the fugitives and complained that the Emperor had come uninvited with an armed force and prohibited them to kill the cows. The Raja, Rai, who was not pleased with their visit, had placed a body of men to keep them off from the tank. Many of Humayun's followers had already dropped down and exhausted due to their thirst and fatigue in passing over the sandy desert. In addition to this, the Rai had ordered his son to check their march and fill up the wells with sands.[55]

Upon Humayun's arrival to Amarkot , Rana the ruler of the province who was adorned with generosity came to meet him. He promised to give his horse men and submitted to his service. During Humayun's stay, he

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[53] T.A. , II, pp. 84-88.
[54] Erskine, op.cit, II, p.224.
[55] Ibid, p.246.

received every assistance from the Rana. Humayun honoured the Rana and his sons who had rendered such good service by gifts of gold and belts and daggers.[56]

As Mirza shah Hussain Arghun had murdered the father of Rana, so in view of making an attack against Bhakkar, Rana collected a large force from all directions and joined Humayun.[57] Shortly after the advance of Humayun, shah Hussain made an attempt to detach from the Emperor's interest from such allies who had joined him. He privately sent to Rana of Amarkot a complimentary and flattering message with a dress of honour a rich dagger and other presents inviting him to abandon the Emperor's interest.[58]

But in the meanwhile, the Rana of Amarkot left the camp in disgust with all his followers due to his insult made by Khwaja Ghazi. This defection was instantly followed by that of all the native chiefs whom Humayun attempted to keep.[59] At the Pargana of Dun, the soldiers now began to desert from Humayun's camp one by one. Simultaneously, Munim Khan in despair deserted from his camp and joined Mirza shah Hussain due to the fight with Tardi Muhammad Khan.[60]

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[56] T.A., II, p.89; M.T. I, p.566.
[57] Ibid; Ibid.
[58] Erskine, op.cit, II, p.258.
[59] Ibid..
[60] T.A. II, p.94.

On the birth of Akbar, Tardi Muhammad Khan was forgiven of all his past offences. Humayun gave all his favour to Tarsh Beg in the fight between Khalil Beg and Tarsh Beg, a brother of shaham Khan Jalair. As a reaction, khalil Beg deserted and joined with all his men to Mir Shah Hussain. Consequently, Humayun ordered Khalid Beg's mother, sultanum to be prisoned and this made Gulbarg Begum angry. Subsequently Sultanam was forgiven and was permitted to go to the blessed Mecca with Gulbarg Begum.[61]

At this time Tarsh Beg also deserted. The emperor cursed him and said, 'For this sake, I dealt harshly with Khalid Beg, who on this account left the circle of the faithful for the circle of the disloyal.Tarish Beg will die young.'[62] Bairam Khan came from Gujrat and tendered his allegiance .There were very few amirs who remained with Humayun.[63]

A messenger was sent to Mirza shah Hussain and required for some body to enable him to cross the river. Shah Hussain after making an agreement with Humayun , sent thirty boats and three hundred camels[64] with

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[61] H.N. p.159.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid, pp.159-68; For reference see Appendix-XVI.
[64] T.A. II, p.94.

100,000 mithkals in money. The conditions agreed upon were faithfully and joyfully observed by shah Hussain.[65]

On the occasion of Humayun's departure for Kandhar, Mirza Shah Hussain sent a messenger to Mirza Askari and Mirza Kamran informing them that his Majesty had started for Qandhar. Mirza Kamran wrote to Mirza Askari that he should block the road and seize his Majesty's person.From Mashtang Humayun wrote a loving letter to Askari fully warning instructions strong in expressions.[66]

The nobles of Mirza Askari such as Kasim Hussain Sultan Uzbek, Mahdi Kasim Khan and others advised him not to move against the Emperor. Abdul Khair was of the different opinion and enforced to seize Humayun. Askari became inclined to his opinion so he neither give any attention to the letter nor to the remonstraces and continued to be hostite to his brother.[67]

According to shah Hussain's information, Mirza Askari with base ingratitude came out from Qandhar at the time when Humayun arrived in shal and Mastang and sent forward Quli Bahadur Uzbeg to keep watch and enquire the truth about the road.[68] At the moment of leaving Sind, Mir Abdul

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[65] Erskine, op.cit, II, p.262.
[66] Ibid, II. p,267; A.N. I, p.392.
[67] Ibid, Ibid.
[68] T.A,. II, p.94.

Hasan, the sadar who had been sent forward by Askari to detain the Emper by engaging him in conversations. He came to deliver some complimentary messages on the part of the Mirza.[69]

On this occasion Hawali Uzbeg reached the royal pavilion and informed Bairam Khan that Mirza Askari was coming to seize his majesty. Bairam Khan immediately informed the Badshah and gave him information from the rear of the pavilion of the approach of Mirza Askari. His Majesty expressed at this moment, "what importance have Kandhar and Kabul got, that I should quarrel with my faithless brothers about them".[70]

While on the way to Kandhar, a demand for horses was made from Tardi Beg but he objected to give any of them. He also did not accompany the royal party.[71] Besides this, Jalaluddin Beg an officer of Mirza Kamran who had a fief in the territory had sent people to capture the scouts. They arrested two of the royal servants.[72]

Upon the departure of Humayun towards Khorasan, Mirza Askari received Tardi Beg and Humayun's other Amirs when they joined him. But on the following day they were delivered into custody and soon after

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[69] Erskine, op.cit, II, p.270.
[70] T.A, II, p.94.
[71] Ibid, p.95.
[72] Erskine, op.cit, II, pp.389-90.

subjected to heavy exactions.[73] He made over Tardi Beg Khan to Shah Walad and he put all the unfaithful servants incharge of his own men and brought them to Kandhar.[74]

The young prince Akbar was received with every mark of affection and tenderness. He was brought to Kandhar by Askari who delivered him to the charge of his wife Sultana Begum.[75] He advised her to take every care for his kind treatment and protection.[76] Not relying his brothers, Humayun along with other nobles proceeded to Sistan. On the way some Baluch met them and acted as guides. The Turks who were there did homage and placed whatever they had on the dish of presentation.[77]

At Garmsir, the magistrate of the place Mir 'Abdul-Hai did not pay any attention to Humayun and one of his servants who did hospitality to the fugitive king was blinded by him as punishment.[78] At Helmand, the inhabitants of the place paid respects to their helpless guest by offering presents and the nobles visited him and sought the pleasure of his conversion.[79]

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[73] T.F.II, pp. 95-96;T.A. II, p.95.
[74] A.N., I, p.394.
[75] T.F. ,II, pp.95-96.T.A. II, p. 95.
[76] M.T. , I, p.569.
[77] T.A. II, p.95.
[78] T.W. , p. 109.
[79] Abdul Baqi Nihawandi, Masaar-i Rahimi, ed. Hideyat Hussain Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1910,p.31(abbreviated as M.R.)

Khwaja Jalaluddin Mahmud joined who was an officer of Mirza Askari and had been sent by him to collect revenue in the district. He presented the king with tents, mulses, horses and other necessaries for the journey which proved highly useful in his helpless circumstances. Humayun in appreciation of his loyalty conferred on him the position of Stewards of the household.[80]

About the sametime, Abdul-Hai, magistrate of the district sent him the report that Askari has sent a force from Kandhar to capture the King and warned him that the only safety for him was to leave Garmsir and enter Sistan which was outside the jurisdiction of Mirza Askari. Therefore, Humayun was forced to leave Germsir where the enemy was hard in chasing him.[81]

In the province of Sistan, Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, governor of the place under shah Tahmasp sent one of his prominent men to receive the king and invited him to come to his capital. Upon his arrival Ahmad Sultan himself with his chief nobles went to receive the king. Humayun was given a kind reception at Sistan. He gave his own residence for Humayun's stay and

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[80] Ibid.

[81] Bayazid Bayat, Tazkira-i Humayun-o-Akbar, ed. Hidayat Hussain, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1941, p.335(cited at T.H.).

he sent even the ladies of his household mother and wives to attend on Hamida Banu Begum.[82]

At Sistan Humayun was joined by several chiefs, Haji Muhammad Koki, Hasan Koka both foster brothers of Kamran and others who had deserted Mirza Askari.[83] These two advised Humayun to return to zamindawar where Amir Beg as governor of Zamindawar and chalma Beg, governor of Bist. Many of the followers of Mirza Askari would desert him (Mirza)and help the king and with their help would recover the territory of Qandhar. Bairam Khan (Beg) and Ahmad Sultan shamlu forbade Humayun from returning zamindawar and he accepted their advice.[84]

At this moment many important visitors joined Humayun out of respect and curiosity. Among those most acceptable to him was Hussain Kuli Sultan, the governor's brother who paid his respects to the king at Sistan and Humayun was pleased to hold religious discourse with him.[85] Immediately after the receipt of Humayun's letter the Shah became glad that the rulers of Hindustan had sought the protection of his court and by his orders drums were beaten for three days at Qazwin to express rejoicing.[86]

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[82] T.W., p.109.
[83] H.N, p.168.
[84] M.R., I, p.574.
[85] Ibid.
[86] A.N. I, p.417.

The instruction of the shah to all his governors and officers was to receive the king and his party with due respect and he should be given a royal reception. He also ordered that the people should also participate and all his requirements should be supplied from the state and people should show the same obedience to him as they showed to the shah.[87]

It appears that Humayun was given a princely reception everywhere and especially each governor had entertained when Humayun remained his guest. It may be noted that in the farman the shah calls Bairam Beg amir-i-muazzam or the chief noble and his name is especially mentioned with the king. The shah instructed each governor that when Humayun would arrive at his place, nine horses three for the King's special use and one for the chief amir, Bairam Khan should be given.[88]

Upon his arrival in Herat, Ali Sultan Qurchi who was one of the Amirs of Taklu sent by sultan Muhammad Mirza and Muhammad Khan sharfuddin Ughli Taklu to welcome him.[89] Muhammad Khan was also presented by the grandees of the realm and important men of learning like Mir Murtaza sadr and Mir Hussain of Karbala as well as by the citizens of Herat.[90] He was exhaled by receiving the honour of kissing the royal feet. He

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87 Ibid.
88 Ibid, pp. 425-433.
89 T.A, II, p.97.
90 Hasan Rumlu, Ahsanut-Tawarikh, Engtr. By Seddor, Baroda, 1934.p.309.

performed the duties of a host in such a way that among his companions and equals no one had so far attained to such happiness. Humayun was highly pleased with his charming behaviour. Muhammad Khan provided all the paraphernalia of sovereignty and all that required for journey.[91]

Soonafter the Shahzada of Iran with his retinue and attendants came to welcome at Bagh Zaghan in performing the duties of respect and reverence.They shook hands and embraced each other.[92] On the New Year's festival Muhammad Khan offered presents followed by the gifts of the nobles and courtiers. Humayun entrusted these gifts to Bairam Beg and Haji Muhammad. More than eight thousand tumans were offered as present to Humayun. Sabir Qaq and Mahmud Qazwini the famous reciters, ustad Qasim the harpiest and master of music who graced the occasion.[93]

Shah Quli Sultan Istalju, governor of the Mashhad also did all in his power to show honour and hospitality to Humayun and under the orders of shah Tahmasp every governor on the route supplied him all things he required. Under the orders of the shah, a large number of nobles and great men went forth to meet him. Upon Humayun's arrival to Nishapur, the

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[91] T.A., II, p.97.
[92] Isknder Beg Mirza Munshi, Tarikh-i Alam Arai Abbasi, 2edns, Tehran, 1896,p.75(as abbreviated T.A.A.)
[93] A.H, I, p.418.

governor of the place received him with proper respect. The governor gave entertainments in honour of Humayun.[94]

According to Maasiri-Rahimi, upon Bairam Khan's approach to the shah's court at Ileqsurliq, he was welcomed with a princely reception. The Turkomans who were his Kins men and then the Persians with the grandees of the realm came to receive him by order of the shah and he was granted interview with the shah with great honour and pomp.[95] At Qazwin capital of Iran, Khwaja Abdul-Ghazni with the grandees and people of the place received the fugitive monarch with ostentatious hospitality.[96]

In the shah's court Humayun was received by Qazi Jahan Qazwini the minister of shah and big officers, Sunduq Beg, the Qurchi Bakshi, shah Quli Khalifa, the keeper of the seals and others.[97] Hakim Nuruddin who was in the Shah's confidence openly and secretly made every endeavour in arranging the affairs of Humayun.[98]

Upon his arrival within one league of the shah's camp, Humayun was received by the princes of the royal family such as Sam Mirza and Bahram Mirza, brothers of the shah Tahmasp, sultan Haider Mirza, sultan Mustafa

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94 T.W., p.80.
95 M.R., I, p.590.
96 T.W., p.80.
97 Ibid, p.92.
98 T.A., II, p.100.

Mirza and Sultan Mirza.[99] Sam Mirza alighted from his horse when he received Humayun. The latter also got down and they embraced each other. Bahram Mirza brought for the king a dress of honour and a horse named Gezalah.[100]

In the course of the conversion with shah Tahmasp, Bahram Mirza brother of the latter became hostile and tried to induce the shah to kill Humayun.[101] But the shah's sister sultanum who was very highly esteemed by her brother exercised great influence in all affairs of state. She did all in her power to protect and help Humayun.[102] During the last few days shah Tahmasp had behaved Humayun with most kindly. He had expressed his words of apology 'O,Humayun , if I have been deficient in ought, I trust to your generosity to excuse it.[103]

On the occasion of departure from shah, Bairam Khan was given the roll of twelve thousand Persians who were from the auxiliary force under prince Murad. The shah instructed his son Sultan Muhammad Mirza to send necessary help from the army of Khurasan . The shah gave Humayun three thousand tumans in cash and various articles worth twenty thousand

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99 T.W, p.92.
100 Ibid.
101 T.A. II, p.100.
102 Elliot and Dowson, op.cit. V, see Extract Tabaqat-i Akbari, p.218.
103 T.W., p.107.

tumans.[104] As directed by the shah, prince Bahram accompanied Humayun upto Miyana.[105]

In return Humayun presented the prince a diamond ring, a keepsake of his mother's as a mark of remembrance and Bahram promised to remember. The shah appointed Haider Beg Anis to accompany the King as guide to Ardabil and Tabraz. He sent farmans also to the governors of these places to arrange for the proper reception of Humayun.[106] At Tabrez, among the distinguished persons who were Mulla Qutbuddin Jalanju of Baghdad and Khwaja 'Abdus-samad Shirigalam who accompanied to Mashhad. The historian Bayazid Bayat also joined here.[107]

At Ardabil all the Shaikhzadas, the other grantees and nobles came to receive him. The governor of Ardabil, Ma'sum Beg Safani and Amir Ashrat, superintendent of the tomb of Shaikh Safiuddin gave Humayun a warm reception and offered presents.[108] While coming back to Mashhad Humayun was given proper reception by the governor and the nobles. The elite of Mashhad, among them Maulana Jamshed the enigmatic and Mulla Hairati.[109]

Bayazid gives the list of the officers accompanied under prince Murad. Those nobles by the order of shah joined to extend the help in the

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[104] T.A.A, pp.75-76.
[105] M.R. II, p.210.
[106] Ibid.
[107] A.N., I, pp. 443-45.
[108] Ibid.,p.445.
[109] M.R., II, pp. 120-21.

recovery of Humayun's lost territories and made other sets of gifts. Bayazid mentions the names of eighteen officers but Abul Fazl adds eight more.[110] upon the order of Humayun to capture the fort of Bist, the Persian officers however, refused to obey as this was contrary to the orders they received from the shah.[111]

Mir Abdul Hai of Garmsir joined with a quiver bound round his neck and did homage. He excused himself for his offences and for his shameful conduct in remaining isolated from his service on the occasion of Humayun's march to Persia. Humayun accepted his apologies and honoured him with favours.[112] Shaham Ali Jalar and Mir Khalaj who held the fortress of Bisit on behalf of Mirza Kamran came out as suppliants. He forgave their offences and accepted them among his severants.[113]

On the occasion of Humayun's approach to Qandhar, Mirza Askari wrote to kamran at Kabul for help. Kamran sent a force under Qasim Hussain and Amir Jamil and instructed him to offer resistance. In the environs of Qandhar Mirza Askari's men gave battle and large number of Persians were killed.[114] Shortly after Mirza Askari sent a message through Mir Tahir to end hostilities till the arrival of Khanzada Begum. In this way

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[110] For reference see Appendix –XVII; A.N. I, pp. 441-42; Tazkiro-i Humayun, pp.4-7.
[111] M.R. , I, p.595.
[112] A.N., I.p.447.
[113] T.H., p.30.
[114] T.A. II, p. 210; M.T., I, p.446.

Mirza Askari simply deceived Humayun to have a respite and strengthened the fort.[115]

On the other hand Mirza Kamran apparently wrote to Mirza Askari to remove hostilities but secretly confined the siege and wrote he was coming to help him.[116] Inspite of the best efforts of Khanzada Begum who had accompanied Bairam from Kabul, Mirza Askari, began to continue hostilities. But Mirza Kamran could not come to the aid of Mirza Askari.[117]

Akbarnama mentions that on the siege of Kandhar, a large number of nobles such as Ulugh Mirza, son of Muhammad Sultan Mirza who was descended from sultan Hussain through a daughter, sher-Afghan Beg, son of chuk Beg and Fazil Beg, brother of Munim Khan, Mir Barka and Mirza Hasan Khan, sons of Mir Abdullah who belonged to the sayyids the Bani-mukhtars of Sabzawar and many others deserted from Kabul and did homage. Humayun received this party with favour and gave them robes of honour and assigned Zamindawar to Mirza Ulugh Beg.[118]

Simultaneously Askari Mirza's officers began to drop away one by one. Among whom the names may be mentioned Khwaja Khizr Khan, Dawa Beg Hazare, Gulbadan Begum's husband. Muwaid Beg, the evil councilor of

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115 M.R. II, p.22.
116 Ibid.
117 A.N., I, p.465; T.A., II, pp. 210-11.
118 A.N.I, p.465.

Humayun during his retreat from Bengal, Ismail Beg, Abul Hussain Beg and Munauwar Beg.[119] On this occasion Mirza Askari wanted to make compromise and at the request of Khanzada Begum, he was forgiven and submitted after coming out from the fort.[120]

After this compromise, Muhammad Khan Jalair, Shaham khan, Muqim Khan, Shah Quli Sistani, Tulak Khan Qurchi and others to the number of thirty persons were brought forward with swords and quivers round their neck to make their obeisance.[121] some were consigned to prison, others were released.[122]

After the victory over kandhar, Humayun divided its territory among his officers.Tiri was given to Ulugh Mirza and the pargana of Lahu was assigned to Haji Muhammad for his maintenance. Zamindawar was given to Ismail Beg, Qilat to sher Afghan, shal to Haider sultan. In this manner, all the officers got jagirs appropriate to their positions. Khwaja Jalaluddin Mahmud who had committed extortion in the city on Mirza Askari's men and on others was delivered over to Mir Muhammad Ali.[123]

But the confidence of Humayun on his troops began to decline who entertained him. Several of Kamran's officers who had been in Kandhar had

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[119] Ibid, p.466.
[120] T.A, II, p.103.
[121] A.N.,II,p.467.
[122] Erskine, op. cit, II, p.311.
[123] A.N., I, p.475.

subsequently entered the Emperor's service but now escaped from the camp and fled to Kabul.After the defeat of Budagh Khan in taking Kandhar, Bairam Khan was appointed governor of Kandhar and ambassadors were sent to shah Tahmasp to inform about the treacherous act of Budagh Khan Mirza.[124] Askari after his escape was caught and brought back to the presence.[125] Humayun spared his life and gave him into the custody of Nadim Kokaltash, one of the confidential servants of his household.[126]

In the neighbourhood of Kabul at Tiri, Dewa Beg the Hazara chief who earlier acknowledged and whose clan inhabitated the neighbouring districts met with his tribe. All the head men brought their horses and cattle which they presented to the Emperor.Also Khanzada Begum, his aunt and Babur's favourite sister paid the debt of nature. Yadgar Nasir Mirza with Munim Beg followed by Hindal Mirza and Tardi Beg who had escaped from Kabul joined the Emperor.[127]

At this moment, Jamil Beg, the brother of Bapus who joined along with A K Sultan and was graciously received. His desertion from Kandhar was forgiven and he privately negotiated a pardon for his brother, Bapus. They were received with favours. Many of the Amirs of Kabul invited

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[124] Erskine, op. cit,II, p.320.
[125] Elliot an Dowson, op. cit, V., Extract from Tabaqat-i-Akbari p.222.
[126] Erskine, op. cit, II, p.321.
[127] Ibid, p.322.

Humayun to come. Bapus, one of the chief Amirs of Kabul was brought by his brother Jamil and Shahberdi Khan who held the districts of Gurdiz, Bangash and Naghz also joined the imperial camp. They were joyfully received. Every night parties deserted from the Mirza's army and joined the Emperor. Musahib Beg, the son of Khwaja Kilan Beg, Kamran's Amir-ul-Umara who came to make his own submission and was endowed by princely favours.[128]

Ali Quli Safarchi and Bahadur, the sons of Haider Sultan who were in mourning for their father were also awarded with favours and kindness. Subsequent to this, Qaracha Khan came and did homage.Mirza Kamran sent Khawaja Khawand Mahmud and Khwaja Abdul-Khaliq to apologise for his offences. Humayun accepted his homage[129]and agreed to pardon him on condition of his submission. He promised further favours and dismissed them with honour. Kamran did not accede to this but fled and shut himself up the citadel of Kabul.[130]

Simultaneously, Muqadam Beg was exiled to Kashmir and Khwaja Muazzam was discarded on the charges of running away and to convey themselves secretly to Mirza Kamran.[131] Before the departure from Kandhar

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[128] A.N.I,pp. 477-478.
[129] Ibid, p.479.
[130] Elliot and Dowson, op.cit, V, Extract from Tabeqat-i-Akabari, p.222.
[131] A.N. I, pp. 479-482.

to conquer to Kabul, Yadgar Nasir Mirza joined whom Bairam Khan showed his every hospitality. Consequently Yadgar Nasir paid his respects to Humayun.[132] On the victory over Kabul, a general amnesty was given.[133] The distribution of fiefs, presents and robes of honour to the servant of the threshold was made in accordance with their deserves.[134]

The government of Ghazni was conferred on Hindal and Ulugh Mirza who had returned from the pursuit of Kamran was confirmed in that of Zamindawar which had been given him in addition to Tiri and the adjoining districts.[135] In this state of tranquility, several of the neighbouring princes sent the congratulations.An embassy from shah Tahmasp under the head of Walad Beg joined who was magnificiently entertained.[136]

A similar embassy from Mirza Sulaiman, the prince of Badakhshan was less favourably received as the Mirza declined the acknowledgement of his immediate authority. Mir Syed Ali, a chief whose influence was great and extensive among the Afghans and Baluchis also joined Humayun at this period and received the government of Duki. Lawang Baluch, another of the

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132 Ibid, p.486.
133 Erskine, op. cit, II, p.326.
134 A.N. I, p.487.
135 Ibid.
136 Erskine, op. cit, II, pp.326-327.

principal Baluch chiefs also acknowledged the Emperor and was rewarded with the country of shal and Mustang.[137]

Yadgar Nasir Mirza was charged with thirty articles of accusation and by the order of Humayun, he was thrown into prison. Soon after wards he was put to death by Muhammad Kasim Mauji who strangled the Mirza with a bowstring.[138] About this time, Muzaffar, the foster- brother of Mirza Askari was put to death due to his continuous wickedness as recommended by Abul Jabbar Shaikh. After making categorical statements and receiving royal reports, Humayun directed Ibrahim Ishak Aga and others to confine in the Kabul citadel near the room where Mirza was imprisoned.[139]

Upon the defeat of Sulaiman Mirza of Badakhshan, Mirza Beg Barlas who had commanded his archers and some others of his principal chiefs and nobles joined in large numbers to offer homage. The Aimaks who were made prisoners were dismissed uninjured. During the illness of Humayun, Qaracha Khan behaved with exemplary firmness.[140] He confined Mirza Askari who was likely to be seditious, brought him into his own tent. He acted as a personal attendant and waited on his Majesty during his illness.[141]

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137 Ibid.
138 T.A., II, p.107.
139 A.N., I, p.487-88.
140 Erskine, op.cit., II, p.330.
141 A.N.,I,pp.493-94.

During this period, Hindal also left his post with improper ideas and in concert with other officers and the partisans of Mirza sulaiman raised their heads.[142] The other nobles who served Humayun with fidelity during his illness were Muhammad Bayazid Hakim, tutor to Akbar and Bibi Fatima, the Urdu Begi of the palace.[143] After the recovery of Humayun's illness, Badakhshan and Kunduz was given to Mirza Hindal, the collectorate of Khost was given to Munim Beg and that of Taliqan to Bapus Beg. Sher Afghan the son of Kuch Beg received investiture of Kahmard, Zuhuk and Bamian. He was further promised to add Ghorband to his fief on reaching Kabul.[144]

In the mean while Kamran made prisoner to Muhammad Quli Tughai while in his bath and instantly he was put to death. The eyes of Fazil Beg and Mihtar vakil were taken out. He appointed some persons to watch the emperor's ladies and the young prince.[145] He put to death or imprisoned many others of Humayun's most faithful adherents. Hisamuddin Ali the son of Mirkhalifa was seized.[146] In view of Kamran's reoccupation of Kabul, Humayun instantly concluded a treaty with Mirza sulaiman by which the

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[142] Ibid.
[143] Ishwari Prasad, op. cit, p. 263.
[144] Erskine, op. cit. II, p. 332.
[145] Elliot and Dowson, op.cit. V, see Extract from Tabaqat-i Akbari, p.224.
[146] Erskine, op. cit, II, p.336.

kingdom of Badakhshan was restored to him as he had enjoyed it under Babur.[147]

Apparently Mirza Kamran adopted certain measures in order to terrorise Humayun's officers.The tactics of Mirza Kamran, combined with the dissensions increasing among Humanyun's followers enabled a large number of nobles to desert. In this crisis, Humayun persuaded the wavering nobles to confirm them in their allegiance by regenerating their hopes and by promises of reward.[148] Inspite of this many of Humayun's followers deserted in the hope that by offering a prompt submission to Kamran they could save their dependants from persecution.[149]

Sher Afghan, the son of Quch Beg who held Kahmard, Zuhak and Bamian on behalf of Humayun, changed his allegiance to Kamran. He was followed by Hasan Beg Koka and sultan Muhammad Bakhshi. Several other nobles like Iskander sultan, Mirza Sanjar son of sultan Juhaid Barlas, Mahdi Khan, his relation chalma Beg, Baba Said, Qipchaq, Ismail Kaz and Mulla Mubtalai Auji deserted Humayun and came to Mirza Kamran.[150]

The enemy of Humayun at this level was defeated by the efforts of Mirza Hindal, Keracha Khan and Haji Muhammad Khan. Sher Afghan Beg

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147 Ibid; pp. 332-33.
148 Ibid.
149 A.N, 1,p.522.
150 Ibid.

was taken prisoner and while he was brought into the emperor's presence he was put to death through the exertions of the nobles like keracha Khan. Baqi Saleh and Jalaluddin Beg who were among the trusted followers of Mirza Kamran joined and rendered homage.[151] In order to give an assistance to regain Kabul, Mirza sulaiman sent reinforcement from Badakhshan. Mirza Ulugh Beg came from Kandhar and Qasim Hussain Sultan came with a band of the servants of Sherum Tughai from Qandhar to render help.[152]

After the defeat of Kamran, Humayun agreed for compromise on the condition of his arrival to render homage. Inspite of his submission, kamran killed three sons of Bapus Beg who were of tender age and that cast down from the walls of the fort. He also made Sander Beg, the son of Qaracha Khan, stand erect upon the top of the ramparts. Upon this Humayun did a great deal to comfort Keracha Khan.[153] After entering Kabul, Humayun put to death some Mullas who had encouraged Kamran in his rebellion and misdeeds. He despatched Karracha to chase Kamran in order to prevent his establishment in Badakhshan.[154]

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151 Elliot and Dowson, op.cit.V, see Extract from Tabaqat-i Akbari, p.225.
152 T.A. II, p.112.
153 Elliot and Dowson, op. cit, V, see Extrct from Tabaqat-I Akbari, p.226.
154 Erskine, op. cit, II, p.346.

Shortly after, Pir Muhammad followed Humayun's inclination and came to Badakhshah to the assistance of Kamran.[155] As regards Karacha Khan, Humayun addressed him as his father and he rendered valuable services.But during this period, rupture began over the demand of the instant dismissal of Khwaza Ghazi and the appointment of Khwaja Qasim Tula in his place. Upon the refusal of Humayun to his wishes, Kerracha Khan immediately deserted with all his adherents and joined Kamran.[156] Luckily, Mirza Hindal brought sher Ali, the Emperor in his generosity, pardoned the latter and made a grant to him of Ghori.[157]

Upon the siege of Taliqan, Mirza sulaiman joined to render service. Haji Muhammad Khan came as a well wisher inspite of some rumours. Qasim Hussain sultan who was in Bangash also joined and did homage. Upon this he was favourably received. Malik Ali was rewarded with a robe of honour and other presents. Mirza Ibrahim was also treated with much favour and Humayun called him his son.[158]

After the victory of Taligan in 1548, the Qazi of Andrab, the men of the Tuba and Salqanchi tribes, the Baluchis, a number of soldiers and of the Aimaqs of Badakhshan and of servant of Musahib Beg did homage and

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[155] Elliot and Dowson, op. cit. V, Extract from Tabaqat-i Akbari, p.227.
[156] Ishwari Prasad, op.cit., p. 278.
[157] Elliot and Dowson, op. cit, V, see Extract from Tabaqat-i Akbari, p.229.
[158] A.N., I pp.525-26.

received royal favours. Keracha Khan's fault was forgiven and he was honoured by being allowed to do homage . Musahib Beg was also brought and was pardoned.[159]

Knowing the submission of Mirza Kamran, Humayun became extremely happy. Upon his meeting, he showed him very great kindness and the paraphernalia of Mirza Kamran's power were arranged for a second time.Thus Kamran was given a very enthusiastic welcome and was allowed to sit close to Humayun in the assembly of nobles.A standard of Tuman-toqh was also bestowed upon him. Kulab was fixed as Mirza Kamran's fief.[160] Chakar Khan, who was Mirza Kamran's prime –Minister was sent along with him. Mirza Askari was also sent along with the Mirza and Qaratiqun was given to him as his fief. [161]

In fact, Mirza Kamran was not satisfied with his fief which did not fulfil his expectations. In this respect, he remarked privately, "one who has been the ruler of Kabul and Badakhshan, can not be expected to join the royal service for such a small a jagir". Qila Zafar, Taliqan and several other parganas were assigned to Mirza Sulaiman and Ibrahim. Qunduz, Ghuri Kahmard, Baqlan Ishkamish and Nari were conferred on Mirza Hindal and

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[159] Ibid, pp. 534-35.
[160] T.A., II, pp. 118-119.
[161] A.N, I, pp. 525-26.

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sher Ali was sent along with him.[162] All the brothers together with the bond of brother hood tied the knot of sincerity and friendship.[163]

Each prince received a standard and a kettle drum and there by was proclaimed to have obtained the disunity of a confidential relationship. They were honoured with toman toqhs.[164] During this period the ambassadors of 'Abdur Rashid Khan son of Sultan Said Khan, the ruler of Kashghar came with valuable presents.They were welcomed with favours and allowed to return quickly. At the sametime, Abbas Sultan, one of the uzbeg princes given auspiciousness by kissing the threshold and was received with favour . His rank was increased by his marriage with Gulchihra Begum, a younger sister of Humayun.[165]

In order to conquer Balkh, Humayun invited Kamran and other Mirzas to cooperate with him.[166] He was joined by Mirza Hindal from Kunduz and Mirza sulaiman from Badakhshan but Kamran and Mirza Askari again showed hostility and did not come to help.Although kamran kept up a correspondence with the Emperor assuring him of his fidelity and of his co-operation with him.[167] In the meantime, he made a secret correspondence with several of his brother's chief Minister. In Kunduz, he

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[162] Ibid, I, pp. 536-539.
[163] Ibid, I, p.540.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid,.p.542.
[166] T.A. II, p.123.
[167] Erskine, op.cit., II, p.369.

persuaded Hindal Mirza by professions of friendship to enter an alliance with him and to desert Humayun.Hindal, however, did not listen to his proposals, but remained faithful to his allegiance.[168]

About the sametime, Kerracha Khan and a number of other treacherous amirs who were restored in the service of Humayun sent a messenger to Kamran regarding their support. Upon Mirza Kamran's appearance, Kerracha Khan and his friends[169] such as Musahib Beg, Qasim Hussain Sultan and many other offiers shifted from Humayun and joined Mirza Kamran at Qibchaq. Haji Muhammad sent his brother to Kamran and promised to follow himself later.[170] There were only a small number of men remained with Humayun. From the side of Humayun, Pir Muhammad Akhta Begi, Ahmad and son of Mirza Quli were killed in the battle against Mirza Kamran. Mirza Quli was wounded and fell off from his house.[171]

In view of making peace, Humayun sent for proposal to Kamran that he should acknowledge the supremacy of his elder brother and should unite their armies to undertake the conquest of Hindustan upon this proposal Kamran convened on the condition that he would keep Kabul while Humayun retain Kandhar . In response to this, Humayun sent back his envoy

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[168] Ibid,p.377.
[169] T.A. II, p.123.
[170] S.K. Banerjee, op.cit. II, p.191.
[171] T.A. II, p.123.

a second time proposing that young prince Akbar should be left in the government of Kabul as well as their conquests in Hindustan should be common to both.[172]

Kamran was inclined to consent to those above terms but some of his nobles especially Kerracha Khan emphatically opposed the peace moves.He forbade him from entering into an agreement with the king. This indicates that the prolonged nature of the struggle between Humayun and Kamran was in a large measure the reflection of the attitude which different sections of the nobility adopted towards Humayun.[173]

Some days after, Khwaja Abdus samad Mansur and several officers who had been deserted from the Emperor and had taken service with Kamran now deserted and were graciously received by Humayun.[174] After the defeat of Kamran, the traitors like Dindar Beg, Haider Dost, Mughal Qanji and Mast Ali Qurehi who had many occasions shown disloyalty were capitally punished in accordance with their deserves and the public benefit.[175] Mirza Askari was taken prisoner.The ungrateful Qaracha Khan

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[172] Erskine, op. cit, II, p.391.
[173] Ibid
[174] Ibid,p.394.
[175] A.N., I, p.544.

was seized when he was in flight but on the way Qambar Ali Sahari whose brother had been put to death by his order inQandhar, killed him.[176]

At this moment of time, a new generation of nobles was brought who supported Humayun in his efforts to curb the powers of the disgruntled elements. In 1550, Khwaja Sultan Ali known as Afzal Khan was raised from the position of Mushrifi Khizana to that of Wazir while the whole charge of the diwani was made over to Khwaja Mirza Beg. This was possible because Humayun had succeeded in breaking the powers of the old nobles.[177]

After the reoccupation of Kabul, Humayun rewarded his friends.Tulak Quchin was raised with favour and raised to the office of Qurbegi.[178] Mirza sulaiman who with his son had rendered distinguished service was sent back to Badakhshan loaded with regards. Mirza Ibrahim remained sometime longer and before his departure was betrothed to Bakhshi Banu Begum, the emperor's daughter. Akbar was bestowed the district of Chirkh in Lohger, as a jagir and Haji Muhammad Khan was appointed his Minister with the care of his education. Bairam Khan was honoured with the title of Khan-i-Khanan.[179]

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[176] T.A., II, pp. 124-125.
[177] Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Wizarat under Humayun,' 1545-1555, Medieval India Quarterly, No.1,1963, p.79;A.N.I, p.552.
[178] A.N.,I,p.552.
[179] Erskine, op. cit, II. P.394.

It was at this time, Haji Muhammad Khan and his brother Shah Muhammad was ordered to be seized. They were charged with turbulent and rebellious designs. They were put to death being found guilty for their numerous crimes.Ghazni and the other Jagirs of the two brothers were divided among the Emperor's adherents. The different tribes of Afghans sent deputations with acknowledgements of submission and tributary offerings.[180] The countries of Ghazni, Gurdiz, Bangash and Lohgar were entrusted to Hindal; Kunduz, which belonged to the Mirza was conferred on Mir Barka and M. Hasan.Juhi Shahi and its territory were assigned to Khizr Khwaza Khan.[181]

Abul-Maali was introduced into the service through Abdus Sami.[182] He was followed by a large number of principal nobles of Mirza Kamran who entered into the service. Those important nobles among them were such as Muhib Ali Khan, Nazir Quli, Khwaja Ibrahim, Maulana Abdullah, Adina Tuqbai, Samanji, Qarqhuji, Jaan Muhammad Tuqhai, Tajuddin Muhammad Barbegi, Timur Tash, Maulana Sani, Known as Sani Khan, Maulana Baba Dost Sadr, Mir Jamal, Khaldin Dost Sahari.[183] Upon the death of Mirza Hindal, Humayun became sad and his Amirs consoled him.Ghazni, the jagir

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[180] Ibid, p.400.
[181] A.N., I, p.580.
[182] Ibid
[183] Ibid,p.587.

of Hindal was given to Akbar to whom were also transferred the Mirza's adherents and the daughter of the deceased prince was betrothed to him.[184]

Sultan Adam Gakkar sent a representation informing Humayun about Mirza Kamran's shelter. Humayun conferred favours on him and sent an order to him to bring the Mirza. Munim Khan went to the abode of Sultan Adam and brought Mirza Kamran to render homage to Humayun in the neighbourhood of Parhala. Humayun again expressed "Pardon is the power of the most powerful", from his great natural generosity and excused all Mirza Kamran's offences.[185]

Following Kamran's surrender, Humayun's nobles who had suffered various kinds of distress reminded kamran's repeated revolts in the past and pleaded that internal rifts and civil war would continue as long as the Mirza was alive. They told Humayun who was apparently inclined to spare Kamran's life, expressed, "Brotherly custom has nothing to do with ruling and reigning. If you wish to act as brother, abandon the throne. If you wish to be king, put aside brotherly sentiment." They did not see any advantage in allowing the internal rifts to continue and were eager to get Kamran removed from the political scene. [186]

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[184] Erskine, op. cit. II, p.404.
[185] T.A. , II, p.120.
[186] Iqtidar Alam Khan, Mirza Kamran, op. cit, p.48.

Further, it appears that even some of Kamran's erstwhile sympathizers and followers like Ismail Beg Duldai, Bapus Beg, M. Abdullah Mughal, Khizr Khan Hazara who still hold considerable positions under Humayun agreed with the other nobles in demanding Kamran's execution.[187] Ultimately, Humayun was forced to give his consent to blinding him. The sentence was executed by Ali Dost Barbegi and Sayyid Muhammad Pakna and Ghulam Ali Shah Augusht.[188] On Kamran's blinding Humayun burst into an involuntary flood of tears. He sympathised deeply with his brother's sufferings.[189]

As on Munim Khan's request Mirza Kamran was granted permission to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca.[190] The Beg Muluk's service for his pilgrimages was also granted but Beg changed his mind after a few stage. In reaction to Beg's attitude, Humayun became angry but after wards his kindly nature forgave him and he was restored to favour.[191] He also proclaimed that Kamran's old servants who wished to follow the Mirza were free to do so. In this respect, only Chalma Beg, the son of Kamran's foster brother, Hamdan Koka came forward to accompany the Mirza after relinquishing his job of

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187 Ibid
188 T.A., II, pp.128-129.
189 Erskine, op. cit, II, p.417.
190 T.A. II, p.129.
191 S.K. Baneerjee, op.cit. II, p.209.

Safarchi under Humayun. Shah Budagh, another person who followed the Mirza into exile.[192]

At this stage Humayun's brother who had so often interfered with his views, his designs were all removed. Kamran was deprived of sight and in banishment; Hindal had fallen in fight, Mirza Askari was in far distant land from where he was not likely to return. The other Mirzas, his relations had either been removed by the arm of justice or by various accidents or lived dependant on his will. The more factions and powerful of the great Amirs, such as Keracha Khan and Haji Muhammad Khan had fallen by the sword of authority. There was now no rival to the throne and no noble behind and above the throne.[193]

While upon the arrival to Kandhar with his Minister, some malicious persons had brought to Humayun's notice that Bairam Khan had hostile intentions. But Bairam Khan came to welcome him and performed the rites of sincerity and loyality.[194] About this time, Khwaja Ghazi who had gone on an embassy to Persia and had come to Kandhar with presents was raised to the lofty office of diwan. Muazzam Sultan also came from Zamindawar and entered into service. Mihtar Qara who was one of the trusted followers of Muhammad Khan of Herat also came with valuable offerings and was

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[192] Itidar Alam Khan, Mirza Kamran, op.cit, p.49.
[193] Erskine, op.cit. II, p.421.
[194] T.A, II, p.130.

received into service. He brought representations of fidelity and was rewarded with favours.[195] Munim Khan was nominated for the government of Kandhar. But upon the insistence of Munim Khan, in view of forthcoming invasion on Hindustan, the government of Kandhar remained in charge of Bairam Khan.[196] Zamindawar was taken from Khwaja Muazzam and transferred to Bahadur Khan, the brother of Ali Quli Khan.[197]

As regards wali Beg and Haji Muhammad sistani who were constantly creating strife were placed under surveillance and taken to Kabul alongwith the imperial entourage.[198] Munim Khan was raised to the office of guardian (ataliq). At the sametime, Ulugh Beg the son of Halhal sultan joined on the part of rulers of Persia and tendered gifts which became the cause of increasing joy.[199] Shah Wali Baka Begi was appointed as the guardian of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. The service of the ladies and the affairs of the province of Kabul were entrusted to Munim Khan.[200]

After commencing the conquest of Hindustan in 1554, Bairam khan came to Peshwar to render service in compliance with orders.[201] The infant son of Humayun, Mirza Muhammad Hakim was appointed to be the nominal

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195 Erskine, op. cit., II, p.421.
196 T.A. II, p.130.
197 A.N. I, p.620.
198 Ishwari Prasad, op.cit., p.340.
199 A.N., I, p.620.
200 Ibid.
201 T.A., II, p.131.

governor of Kabul and Munim Khan was entrusted to the active direction of affairs.[202] Sikandar KhanUzbek who had done good service was made the subject of favours and on that day was raised to the rank of Khan. Upon his arrival to Indus, Humayun invited sultan Adam Gakkar to join and do homage.Inspite of his refusal, he was pardoned due to his earlier faithfull service.[203]

On this occasion, a large number of nobles came to India along with Humayun to reconquer India. Ab ul Fazl's list contains in all fifty seven nobles.[204] The list of nobles provided by Bayazid is more comprehensive .It includes even the menial servants and personal servants of nobles.[205]At Lahore, the chief men of the country came forward to welcome Humayun. During his journey to Lahore, the Emperor was the recipient of congratulatory messages from influential persons.[206] In response to this Bairam Khan assigned parganas in the neighborhood to the various officers and sent them to their several posts. Sikandar Khan was appointed to Machiwara.[207] The pargana of Patti Hibatpur was assigned to Jauhar.[208]

202 Erskine, op.cit.II, 509.
203 A.N. I, p.622.
204 For reference see Appendix –XVIII; A.N., I, pp. 623-24; T.H.pp. 176-187.
205 See Appendix –XIX.
206 Ishwari Prasad, op.cit.p.343.
207 A.N., I,p.625.
208 Ishwari Prasad, op. cit, p. 343.

Farhat Khan was made the shiqdar of Lahore after the victory at Machiwar against Afghans. Bapus Beg was made the faujdar of the Punjab, while M.Shah Sultan and Mihtar Jauhar was made the amin and the treasurer respectively.[209] All the servants of the Khilafat received high offices and noble fiefs.[210] On the way to Sirhind, Humayun arrested and confined his own brother-in-law, Khwaja Muazzam for holding communication with Sikandar Shah.[211] Upon the capture of Sirhand, Bairam Khan was given the titles of Khan-i-Khanan and Yar Wafadar. Sirhind and various parganas were presented to him. The Turks and Taziks who were in his service promoted to higher ranks and even his menial servants were handsomely rewarded.[212]

Akbar got Hisar Firoza, Mirshah Abul Maali Punjab after the reconquest of Delhi. Similarly, Tardi Beg Khan was sent to Mewat, Sikandar Khan Uzbek to Agra and Muhammad Khan Akhtabegi to Biana near to Agra.Ali Quli Sistani was despatched to reduce Meerut and sambhal.About the sametime shah wali was rewarded by the title of Sultan and sent back to Kabul with presents.He was also given letters of greeting and affection.[213] Bairam khan was appointed to the office of tutor to the young prince and

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209 A.N., I, p.627.
210 Ibid, p. 635.
211 S.K. Baneerjee, op. cit., p.239.
212 Ishwari Prasad, op. cit. p.348.
213 A.N., I, p.635.

was sent to oppose Iskander. Baba Khan Gaus and Qambar Diwana were appointed to Agra and Badaun respectively.[214]

Shortly after the defeat of Rustam khan, he was sent to court along with about 700 men of note in the charge of Mir Latif and Khwaja Qasim Makhlis. Upon Rustam Khan's appearance, Humayun gave him a purposeful for a jagir on certain conditions. But upon his refusal to this term, he was imprisoned and placed in the charge of Beg Muhammad Ishak.[215] Mir Abul Maali was sent towards Lahore in order to crush Sultan Sikandar Afghan who had fled to the hilly country by siwalik. But he did not behave properly with the amirs who had been sent to help him and interfered in their fiefs and even mis appropriateed the funds of the royal treasury and in the government lands.[216] He also removed Farhat Khan, the Shiqdar of Lahore. In view of this Humayun transferred his province to Akbar and permitted him to choose Hisar Firoza who was now appointed in the Punjab.[217]

Soonafterwards Ali Quli Khan Shaibani was sent against Qambar Diwan.[218] He took the fort, captured Qambar Diwana put him to death and sent his head to the Emperor.[219] Simultaneously. Ustad Aziz Sistani who for

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[214] M.T,1,p.597.
[215] Ibid, p.640.
[216] T.A ,II, p.136.
[217] M.T, I, p.597.
[218] B.N, I, p.250.
[219] Elliot and Dowson, op cit, V, see Extract from Tabaqat i-Akbari, p.239.

his good service and loyalty had received the title of Rumi khan and entered the service.[220]

[220] A.N., I. p.640.

CONCLUSION

The Turko-Mongol theory of kingship was based on the ideas and precedents left by Timur the Turk and Changez Khan the Mongol. The king in the Mongol tradition was considered some thing higher than simply a leader. The Mongols themselves believed in the absolute power of the Khan. The theory had gained its strength from the traditions and conventions among the Mughals which oriented towards greater centralization.

This concept of sovereignty continued even under Timur who declared that "the whole expanse of the inhabitant part of the world is not worthy of two kings; since God is one so viceregent of God on earth should also be one". At another place Timur had declared that "as a women can not have two husbands an empire should also have only one sovereign".

The authority of the king in the Timurid polity was not subject to the sanction of any outside power. It appears from the study that the Timurid sovereignty is absolutism which had been exercised by Timur. The fact is that the powers enjoyed by Timur with a nominal counterparts were those of a sovereign despot and that absolutism had remained an important factor of his idea of sovereignty.

From the very beginning of his rule, Timur organised the administration of his state in accordance with the principles of Tura. There was the significance of the Mongol customs and traditions which can not be ignored. In this reference the Tura-i Changezi which was considered an important constitutional code by the Mughals is important. The influence of the yasa on the Timurid state can be seen from the observation made by Babur in his account: "My fore fathers and family had always sacredly observed the rules of changiz. In their parties, their courts, their festivals and their entertainments, in their sitting down and rising up, they never acted contrary to the Tura-i Changezi. It indicates that the impact of the Mongol traditions and law was prevalent under the Timurids.

In the Timurid polity the position of the sovereign and its relations with the nobility continued to be governed by the traditions developed under the early Mongol Khaqans which are usually referred to as Tura-i Changezi. In practice the Mongol king owed his rise to throne as much to the nobility's support as the case with Turkish Sultan. But the Mongol king did not acquire absolute power over the nobility unlike Turkish Sultan. The majority of nobles serving under Babur claimed a special status because of their ancestry with changez khan. There is enough reason to assume that the priviledges of different sections of the nobility sanctified by changezi tradition were respected among the Timurids till Babur's time.

In order to follow the Changezi tradition Babur advised Kamran not to choose his wakil – mutlag outside the circle of nobles belonging to a particular 'Mughal' tribe indicates the prevalence of conventions recognizing hereditary claims to certain positions and offices. He also advised Humayun to "take counsel and settle every word and act in agreement with the well-wishers". It is with reference to the dispute between Humayun and Kamran he says that "The rule had been always adhered to that when thous hadst six parts kamran had five".

During the period of Humayun the traditions of the Mughals divided the loyalties of the nobles. Although they owed a general loyalty to the ruling house, they were not always loyal to particular individual. So the nobles asserted their claim that 'the empire belonged not to the ruler but to the ruling family'. In that respect they always tried to share power with the crown. In the absence of the law of succession and due to the presence of the Mongol tradition of dividing the Kingdom among different sons of the ruler, the members of the Timurid family, or the Mirzas made justification in claiming a sort of equality with Humayun.

The opportunism of the nobles which was inherent in their class due to the characteristic nature of its institution made them side either with Humayun,

or with Askari or with Kamran. This indicates that the crisis in Humayun's relations with his nobility during the periods 1538-41 and 1545-53 developed due to the Mongol characteristics of the Timurid polity. In fact Humayun's defeat at the hands of Sher Shah (1540) and the protracted civil war in Afghanistan (1545-53) were essentially the result of a breakdown in the relations of the king and the nobility.

After the death of Babur's father, Khwaja Kazi and other begs proclaimed him king at Andijan and offered their allegiance. The Andijani nobles wanted to protect his interests. Those nobles who had served loyally during this critical period were awarded according to his rank and status. At the end of 1494, Hasan Yaqub planned to dethrone Babur and raise his younger brother Jahagir Mirza. In this effort he secured the support of the disaffected nobles like Muhammad Bagir Beg, Sultan Muhammad Duldai and his father. Ibrahim Saru, the governor of the fort of Asfera also rebelled but subsequently surrendered the fort "with his sword and quiver hanging from his neck," to Babur. He was pardoned and taken into service.

After the conquest of Samarqand, some of the nobles deserted Baisunger and joined Babur but he was not inclined to admit them due to their unreliable conduct, crude manners and greedy nature. The untrustworthy Mongol nobles began to desert and joined Jahangir Mirza at Akhsi. Even Sultan Ahmad Tambal who had the highest rank in the Mughal nobility also deserted and demanded the province of Andijan to be given to Jahangir Mirza. Moreover, Auzun Hasan who was the incharge of the affairs of Andijan joined with the conspirators and decided to make trouble for Babur.

In order to reduce Babur's absolutism and independence the nobles proposed to make the division of the territory of Farghana. On the occasion of undergoing a compromise between the two brothers (Babur and Jahangir Mirza), Ali Dost Tughai began to behave in a reckless manner. Taking the support of sultan Ahmad Tambal, he made an attempt to establish his control

over Babur's household. So much so, Ali Dost's son Muhammod Dost set himself on a royal footing, strarted reception and public table and a court and workshops after the fashion of sultans. Both father and son behaved in the improper manner. In reaction to this Babur writes, "Our position was singularly delicate not a word was said but many humiliation were endured .....".

On the other hand Samarqandi Begs under Mazid Tarkhhan paid their loyalty. Some of the old nobles were admitted such as Ibrahim Saru, Muhammad Yusuf and others who had deserted at Andijan. Majid Tarkhan also deserted and entered the service of Khusrau Shah at Hissar. While making an appeal to crush shaibani Khan after the capture of Samarqand, Jahangir Mirza and Sultan Ahmad Tambal sent only a hundred men. Sultan Mahmud Khan, the elder Khan of Mongols and his maternal uncle sent few soldiers from Tashkant and did not give enough support in this respect.

In this situation many of his inmates desrted his fortunes. Some of them only offered half hearted support and did not hesitate in playing a double role. Babur's position was helpless and his men began to desert. At this critical moment, Auzun Hasan the chief instigator of the rebellion of Jehangir Mirza came with supporters to create dissensions, sedition and disloyalty in the garrison.

When Babur wanted to take action against sultan Ahmad Tambal, Qambar Ali deserted and went to Andijan and joined Tambal. Even Tambal invited shaibani Khan to enter Farghana to support him against the siege of Andijan by two Khans. As a result two Khans fled away and could not give Babur any military support. After the capture of Farghana by shaibani Khan, Sherim Tughai thought to leave Babur.

At this moment of crisis Khusrau Shah became unkind to him and resented him on the borders of his kingdom. But his younger brother, Baqi Chaghaniani, whose relations with his brother were not cordial, joined with his

family and belongings. But soon after due to the arrival of shaibani Khan to Kunduz even Khusrau shah with his Mughal clans joined and was forgiven.

After the conquest of Kabul, various clans and tribes whom Khusrau Shah had left at Kunduz joined. Amongst them were the Mughals of various clans and the Hazaras. With the downfall of the Timurid and Mongol powers in central Asia, those nobles who came and joined Babur's service, they were directly conferred the status of Beg. They were given an account of the assignments made by him after his capture of Kabul. The nobility was vertically graded. Each of these categories was composed of different racial groups.

The headman of the kiwitribe, Shadi Khan was forced to submit and acknowledge Babur's authority. On this occasion Baqi has incited Jahangir Mirza to revolt against Babur. But he refused to do and revealed the plot to Babur. But at one time Jahangir and Bagi refused to take charge of the fort of Qalat. Babur complains that Baqi had thirty thousand sheep along with him but when Babur's nobles were starving he did not give single one. He was sincere to none, had regard for none. His attitude had become quite intolerable.

During Babur's prolonged absence from Kabul, Shah Begum and some Mughals read the Khutba in the name of her grandson, Mirza Khan. In this respect the principle leaders of the rebels seized before Babur. He in his great distress exclaimed, " What crime have I committed"? and what greater crime these be". In response to this Babur replied that such a man of your important conspired with rebels. Both Mirza Khan and Muhammad Hussain Mirza allowed to go to Kandhar.

The Arghun brothers, Shah Shuja Beg and Muqim Arghun invited Babur to receive the submission of Kandhar and lead the joint expedition against the Uzbegs. On the march towards Kandhar a large number of fugitives and some of the royal ladies joined. When Babur sent envoys and letters to Arghun brothers they gave rude and ill mannered answer while Shah Beg sent an

embassy to shaibani offering the submission of Arghuns. On the contrary, they did not want to submit Babur as their lawful lord and treated him as an equal.

The Study gives several references of nobles who fought against Arghuns and supported Babur. Despite this racial complications, family feuds and hetrogenous character, the Mughals, the chaghtais and Trukoman tribes acted in most disciplined manner. After the capture of Kandhar by shaibani Khan, some of the nobles conspired and deserted. But the plot was known and miscreants were arrested. Similarly the retainers of Khusrau Shah from Hissar and Kunduz unanimously decided to quit their allegiance. These nobles wanted to restore Abdur Razzak the son of Babur's uncle Ulugh Beg Mirza to the thorne of Kabul. It appears that for the first time the chaghtais, the Mughals and the Turkoman tribes created problem.

On the arrival of Sultan Saeed Khan, he was welcomed with great respect and honour. When Mirza Haider Doughlat brought before Babur, he was showed sympathy and welcome. On this occasion Babur expressed with great benevolence. In Kabul some of the Mughal nobles made a conspiracy to kill Babur and raise his guest Sultan Saeed chaghtai to the Khanship of Mughals. It shows that the defeat of Babur after the reconquest of Samarqand was due to the opposition of the Mughals who consisted of a large number of Babur's army. In addition to this the samarqandis organized a revolt against Babur. Due to the conspiracy of the Mughals Hisar came under the domination of Uzbeg.

In Kabul some of the distinguished nobles of the court rose in rebellion. At this crisis Babur's favourite minister came from Kunduz and Killed the rebels. But sherim Tughai was pardoned. Some of the nobles came to Kabul where their marriages were arranged with Babur's relatives. In Bajaur the most mischievous chiefs were punished with severely and put to death. Several of chiefs of Yusufzai tribe submitted and Babur married their daughters.

From the study it emerges that the nobility in central Asia and Kabul under Babur remained in the unorganised state. The nobles who remained with

him during this period treated as friends. The presence of a large number of relations and members of important chaghtai clans made the situation difficult. So the position of Babur remained weak and he could not control the nobility in a strong manner.

As regards the composition of Babur's nobility after the conquest of India, I have divided it into two broad groups, the Hindustani and the central Asian. By Hindustani noble mean those Afghans as well as non Afghans who were already settled in Hindustan. Besides it has also been included the details of local zamindars, the rais or rajas who held various principalities in India by way of wajh wa Istiqamat and were also accommodated by Babur in the Mughal polity.

As we have seen Babur's nobles or begs were mainly of central Asian origin with the exception of a few Iranis who might have jointed his service in minor capacities after the fall of Timurid power in Herat. Before the conquest of India, Babur also came into contact with Indian nobles, since certain dissatisfied nobles of Sikandar Lodi invited him to invade India. Such Afghan allies were, however taken into confidence and were kept away from the field at the battle of Panipat.

After the battle of Panipat, the racial composition of the nobility underwent a great change. Babur realised the necessity of admitting Afghan and Indian nobles into his ruling class. Immediately after the battle Malik Dad Karrani, a prominent Afghan noble was not only pardoned but also assigned several parganas. When Babur established in Agra many of the officers of Hindustan and rulers of the country gradually entered his service. Among them was sheikh Ghurran who brought with him as many as three thousand soldiers and quiver – weavers from Doab. Firoz Khan, Mahmud Khan Nuhani, Qazi Jia and Shaikh Bayazid also joined his service after the battle of Panipat. Certain other officers of the Lodis, like Nizam Khan, Tatar Khan and Muhammad Zaitun also submitted and were admitted to service.

It appears that Babur not only admitted Indian nobles because of political compulsions, but also began to repose confidence in them. The Indian nobles who were admitted to service were given important assignments. For example Firoz Khan Sarang Khani was given territory of the value in revenue of 144, 05,000 tankas from Jaunpur, Mahmud Khan received territory worth 90, 35,000 tankas from Ghazipur and Qazi Zia, worth twenty lacs of tankas. Similarly other nobles were also given large territories.

In all the major engagements, following the battle of Panipat, Indian nobles fought in Babur's army against Indian chiefs. The names of officers have been mentioned at the time of the battle of Khanua, chanderi and in the campaign in the eastern region give confirmation to this. In order to establish personal affinities with them Babur invited Indian nobles along with central Asian nobles to his assemblies.

It also appears that Babur established friendly relations with the local chiefs. The Raja of Kahlur, Sangur Khan Janjuha and Alam Khan Ghakkar accepted Babur's sovereignty and the latter too served on his side in the battle of Khannua. In the light of the discussion it may be suggested that the nobility of Babur after the battle of Panipat no longer remained purely Turani.

As regards the distribution of the revenue resources of Babur's empire in India, the Indians particularly the Afghans were the major share holders. The Lodis, the Nuhanis and the Farmulis were the main recipients of the revenue assignments given by Babur on the Hindustanis. The Hindustanis shared nearly half of the revenue of Babur's empire in India. Many Afghans were granted principalities of much higher value than any central Asia nobles. The highest amount of wajh sanctioned by Babur in favour of central Asian nobles was 70 lacs tankas granted to Mahdi Khwaja. A number of Indian nobles were sanctioned much higher amount of wajh.

Among the central Asian nobles, the majority share holders in the revenue resources of Babur's empire in Hindustan were the Timurid, the

Mongol and the Uzbeg princes who shared among themselves 4 crore 79 lacs 9 thousand 174 tankas. A large part of other central Asian nobles obviously shared the remaining part of the half of the jama of Babur's empire.

The character of Babur's ruling class in Hindustan was essentially Afghan, the other major partners in the revenue of Hindustan were the princes related to Babur directly or indirectly from the survey of the composition of the nobility shows that the Mughal ruling polity in India was a combination of the Timurid, the Mongol, the Uzbeg princes and the leading local Afghan Chiefs.

On his accession, Humayun continued his father's policy, conciliated his nobles with costly presents and treated them like comrades. He divided his nobility under three grades. The poets and other learned men were also included in the nobility known as Ahl-i sadat. Besides the poets Humayun's court were full of other learned men such as hakims and maulanas who engaged themselves in the different branches of learning including sufism and medicine. They stood between the Indian masses and the Mughal court.

On the occasion of the festivities in the year 1534, there were large number of nobles who were given rewards. But as soon as Afghan resistance became stronger, the Afghan nobles began to desert and incite Bahadur shah against the Mughals. It appears that Humayun became dependant on Turani nobility and realized that Afghans remained no more reliable. Consequently the numerical strength of Afghan nobles began to decline. Neverthless certain Afghans and sheikh zadas remained loyal to Humayun until his conquest of Bengal.

The success of Sher Shah and Humayun's attitude in Bengal created a feeling of frustration and panic among the Mughal nobles. They adopted mutinous attitude and a number of them deserted to their Jagirs in the Doab. Most of them were engaged in war and strife against the foes of the Kingdom, against each other or against king. When Humayun proposed to appoint Zahid Beg to be governor of Bengal then he refused to comply his order. The sharp

differences in the Turani nobility and the struggle among the Mughal princes and Humayun's incapacity to deal the problem strongly weakened the hold on the nobility considerably. As a result the ranks of Indian nobles in Mughal service declined. Thus the Mughal nobility which had started to be predominantly Turani complexion after the accession of Humayun became purely Turani with the exception of a few Iranis.

After his defeat at chausa and Kanauj, Mirza Kamran largly became unkind to his brother. Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Mirza Hindal refused to fight against the Afghans. Even Kamran was making secret negotiations with Sher Shah. He always threatened to go to Kabul leaving Humayun alone to face the problem. He declared king himself and read the Khutba in his name. In that situation a large number of Humayun's Turani nobles Joined Mirza Kamran among them were his brothers and cousins.

On the siege of Sehwan, the dishonest nobles began to desert followed by several officers. Some of them even induced Yadgar Nasir Mirza to go to Kandhar quickly as the situation in Sindh is not favourable . Moreover, he even became rebellious due to the persuasion by Mirza Shah Husain Arghun. His nobles behaved meanly towards him as Tardi Beg refused to give horse to Hamida Banu, when he was a homeless wanderer in the desert of Sindh. When Humayun came to Kandhar, Mirza Askari deputed some persons to detain the emperor and wanted to seize him.

A great change in the composition of Mughal nobility came between 1540 and 1555. During his march into Sindh and subsequently flight to Persia the nobility remained with him belonging to the lower ranks.

On the other hand during his stay in Iran, many people of Irani origin joined Humayun's service for instance Wali Beg Zulqadar and his two sons, Hussain Quli and Ismail Quli: also Haider sultan shaibani and his two sons Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan joined. Certain other relations and clans men of Bairam Khan also joined Humayun's service. When Humayun returned from Iran to

take Qandhar and Kabul, a nucleolus of Irani nobles had thus already been formed.

On the occasion of Humayun's approach to Qandhar from Iran, Mirza Askari's men resisted to give entry. After the conquest of Qandhar, a large number of his old Turani nobles who had joined Mirza Kamran, came over to him. But the old nobles remained changing in their loyalty. In this crisis, Humayun persuaded the wavering nobles to confirm them in their allegiance by regenerating their hopes and by promises of reward. In spite of this many of Humayun's followers deserted in the hope that by offering a prompt submission to Kamran they could save their dependants from persecutions.

Kamran persisted in his evil ways and when the time came to settle accounts with him, he was pardoned. Humayun treated other brothers with equal Kindness though they became the traitor many times. Hindal's rebellion during the critical campaign was pardoned and he was restored to favour.

In order to conquer Balkh, Humayun invited Kamran and other Mirzas to cooperate with him but Kamran and Mirza Askari again shared hostility and did not come to help. In the meantime Kamran made a secret correspondence with several of his brother's chief minister. In Kunduz, he persuaded Hindal Mirza by professions of friendship to enter an alliance. But Hindal did not consider it and remained faithful to Humayun.

A large number of people from Iran came to Kabul and entered Humayun's service. Iranis were also appointed to important central office, such as Diwan, Wazir, Mir Saman and Mushri-fi Diwan, in the period 1545-55 when Humayun was in Kabul. In Kabul keracha Khan and some other treacherous amirs who were restored in the service of Humayun gave their support to Kamran. Kamran was somehow, agreed to make peace on certain terms but Keracha Khan was deadly against the peace terms. This indicates that the prolonged nature of the struggle between Humayun and Kamran was in a large

measure the reflection of the attitude which different sections of the nobility adopted towards Humayun.

Hence Humayun raised a new nobility on whom he could have complete confidence. In this situation, he increased the power of the Irani nobility and encouraged new Turani nobility in order to strengthen his position against old Turani nobility. During his struggle with Mirza Kamran for control over Kabul between 1545-55, he was able to develop nobility more closely loyal to himself. The new nobility served him loyally throughout his contest with Mirza Kamran and followed him in the conquest of India. In recognition of their services, important assignments were generally given to this section of the nobility. The dominant sections in his nobility were still continued to a limited number of clan – and – family groups. Those clan groups were naturally against to any centralization of authority.

From the overall study on the nobility in our period it emerges that the Mughal ruling class did not constitute a disciplined and an effective organisation to solve the complex problems of newly established empire in India. The attempts made by the emperors to bring about some changes in its composition, to improve its working and making it loyal and dependant to the crown were not fully successful. The most important reason remained the presence of powerful clan and family groups of nobles with their roots in central Asian traditions or claims of high descent. It was only in Akbar's time that the nobles were fully brought under the control of the crown.

APPENDIX

I. LIST OF NOBLES UNDER BABUR INHERITED FROM HIS FATHER UMAR SHAIKH MIRZA. Baburnama, tr. PP. 24-28.

1. Khudai Birdi Tughchi Timurtash, a descendant of the brother of Aq-Bugha Beg, the governor of Hiri.
2. Hafiz Muhammad Beg Duldai son of Sultan Malik Kashgari's son and a younger brother of Ahmad Haji Beg.
3. Khwaja Hussain Beg.
4. Shaikh Mazid Beg.
5. Ali Mazid Quchin
6. Hasan Yaqub
7. Qasim Beg Quchin
8. Baba Quli was descendant of Shaikh Ali Bahadur
9. Ali Dost Tughai
10. Wais Laghari
11. Mir Ghiyas Taghai, younger brother of Ali-dost Taghai
12. Ali Darwesh Khurasani
13. Qambar Ali Mughal

II. LIST OF NOBLES OF BABUR WHO FOUGHT THE BATTLE OF QANDHAR . Baburnama, tr. I, PP. 334., 335, 339.

1. Mirza Khan
2. Sherim Taghai
3. Yarak Taghai with his elder and younger brethren.
4. Chilma Mughal
5. Ayub Beg
6. Muhammad Beg
7. Ibrahim Beg
8. Ali Sayyid Mughal
9. Sultan Quli Chuhra
10. Khuda-i-Baksh
11. Abdul Hasan
12. Abdul Razzak Mirza
13. Qasim Beg
14. Tingri-birdi
15. Qambar Ali

16. Ahmad Alicha – Bugha
17. Ghuri Barlas
18. Syed Husain Akbar
19. Mir Shah Quchin
20. Nasir Mirza
21. Sayyid Qasim Lord of the Gate
22. Muhibb-i- Ali the armourer
23. Aughli
24. Allah-Wairan Turkman
25. Sher Quli Mughal with his elder and younger brethren.
26. Muhammad Ali
27. Qasim Kukuldash
28. Khusrau Kukuldash.
29. Sultan Muhammad Duldai
30. Shah Muhammad the Secretary.
31. Quli Beyazid the taster.
32. Kamal the Sherbat – Server
33. Khwaja Muhammad Ali
34. Nasir Dost
35. Nasir's Mirim
36. Baba Sherad
37. Khan Quli
38. Wali the treasurer
39. Qutluq-qadam the scout.
40. Maqsud the water bearer
41. Baba Shaikh

III. <u>LIST OF BABUR'S NOBLES</u>.

1.	Araish Khan (Indian)	B.N., 403, 505, T.U., 136.
2.	Ahmad Parvanchi	T.U., 12 a, B.N. 408, 472
3.	Abdul Shakoor Mughal	T.U., 16 b.
4.	Ali Khan Shaikhzada of Farmal (Indian)	B.N., 320-7, 567); T.U., 14b
5.	Arghun Sultan brother of Muhammad Ali Jang	B.N. 461; T.U., 12 a.
6.	Ahmad Shah s/o Sultan Nasiruddin (Indian)	B.N., 593, 596.
7.	Ahmad Yusuf oghlu	B.N., 550.
8.	Aulia Khan Sarwani (Indian)	B.N. 677; T.U., 14 a.
9.	Khwaja Asadullah Jander Khwafi (Irani)	B.N, 543, 546.

10.	Alam Khan Kalpiwal (Indian)	B.N., 544, 590, 682; T.U.15 a.
11.	Adil Sultan S/o Mahdi Sultan	B.N. 567; T.U., 11b.
12.	Abul Fath Turkman	B.N., 540; T.U., 16a.
13.	Amir Abdullah Kitabdar	B.N, 471-2.
14.	Amir Abdul Aziz Mir Akhuar	B.N, 567; T.U. 11b.
15.	Mir Abdul Baqa	T.U., 14 b.
16.	Abul Muhammad Nezabaz	B.N.473, 582, T.U; 16b.
17.	Ahmad Qasim Kabuli	T.U., 14b.
18.	Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Son of Sultan Bahlul (Indian)	B.N., 439-42, 444,505.
19.	Ustad Ali Quli	B.N. 469.
20.	Alaul Khan Nurkhani (Indian)	T.U., 136; B.N. 677,888.
21.	Mirza Khan Yar Khan	T.U., 16 b.
22.	Baba Sultan Qashqa	B.N. 405, 442.
23.	Baqi Saqawal	T.U., 12 a; B.N., 676.
24.	Bi Khub Sultan Uzbek Shaibani	B.N., 442.
25.	Shaikh Bhikari (Indian)	T.U. 17 a.
26.	Chin Timur Sultan Chaghtai	B.N. 472.
27.	Amir Durvesh Muhammad Sarban	B.N., 472.
28.	Dilawar Khan Khan Khanan (Indian) son of Daulat Khan Lodi	B.N., 461, 507; T.U., 12 a
29.	Malik Dad Karrani (Indian)	B.N., 540, 557.
30.	Darwesh Ali son of Yusuf Ali	B.N. 567.
31.	Dost Muhammad Beg Mughal Son of Baba Qaqsha	B.N., 539.
32.	Mir Faqir Ali	T.U., 14 b
33.	Fath Khan Sherwani Khan-i Jahan (Indian)	T.U., 13 a; B.N., 534.
34.	Firoz Khan Sarang Khani (Indian)	B.N, 527.
35.	Shaikh Ghuran (Indian)	B.N., 529.
36.	Hussain Khan Darya Khani (Indian)	T.U., 17 a.
37.	Hindu Beg Quchin	B.N., 472.
38.	Hussain Ali Turkman	T.U., 14 a.
39.	Husamuddin Ali Barlas son of Nizamuddin Khalifa	B.N., 601.
40.	Khwaja Hussain Beg brother of Uzun Hasan	B.N., 458, 549; T.U., 17 a.
41.	Sayyid Mir Hama (Irani)	B.N. 456, 549; T.U. 17 a.
42.	Hussain Aqa Sistani (Irani)	B.N., 566.

43.	Mustafa Rumi Tawachi (Irani)	B.N., 471, 550.
44.	Mir Mughal son of Abdul Wahab Shaghawal	B.N., 658, 673-4.
45.	Muhammad Zaman Mirza	B.N., 606, 631; T.U., 16 a.
46.	Mahmud Khan son of Fateh Khan Sarwani (Indian)	T.U., 14 a.
47.	Shaikh Muhammad (Indian)	T.U., 17 a.
48.	Sayyid Mashadi (Irani)	B.N., 688.
49.	Momin Atka	T.U; 13 a.
50.	Mujahid Khan Multani (Indian)	B.N. 404; T.U., 16 a.
51.	Muhammad Sultan Mirza Son of Wais Mirza	B.N, 468, 472.
52.	Muhammad Ali Jang Jang	B.N., 472; T.U. 11b.
53.	Sayyid Mahdi Khwaja son of Musa Khwaja	B.N., 472,475.
54.	Muhib Ali Khan Barlas son of Nizamuddin Khalifa	B.N. 472.
55.	Sultan Muhammad Bakshi (Indian)	B.N. 472; T.U., 13 a.
56.	Muhammadi Kokaltash	B.N. 472; T.U., 11b.
57.	Malik Sharaf	T.U., 14 a.
58.	Sultan Muhammad Duldai	B.N., 472.
59.	Mahmud Khan Lohani (Indian)	B.N., 527; T.U., 14b.
60.	Shah Muhammad son of Baba Qashqa	B.N., 472.
61.	Sayyid Nizamuddin Khalifa	B.N., 473.
62.	Nizam Khan brother of Alam Khan of Biana (Indian)	T.U., 15 b; B.N., 567.
63.	Mirza Nuruddin son.in.law of Babur	T.U., 14b.
64.	Pir Quli Sistan (Irani)	B.N. 472, 566.
65.	Khwaja Pahalwani Bakshi	T.U., 166.
66.	Amir Qara Quzi	B.N., 473.
67.	Ismail Jilwani (Indian)	B.N., 404, 677; T.U. 14 a.
68.	Ismail Beg	T.U.; 14 b.
69.	Amir Jani Beg Atka	B.N., 460.
70.	Sultan Jalaluddin son of Hussain Shah (Indian)	B.N., 651-2.
71.	Sultan Junaid Barlas	B.N., 466, 471.
72.	Jamal Khan son of Sultan Alauddin (Indian)	B.N., 567.
73.	Jafar Khwaja Son of Mahdi Khwaja	B.N., 579, 562; T.U., 179.

74.	Shaikh Jamal Farmali (Indian)	B.N., 551; T.U. 16 b.
75.	Khalifa Kuki son of Baba Qashqa	B.N., 551.
76.	Kichak Khwaja brother of Khwaja Kalan Beg	B.N. 661; T.U. 14 a.
77.	Khwaja Kalan Beg son of Maulana Muhammad Sadr.	B.N., 438, 631, T.U., 12 a.
78.	Kitta Beg Kohbar Chaghtai	B.N., T.U., 12 a.
79.	Khusrau Kokultash	B.N., 472.
80.	Khalil Akhta Beg	T.U., 17 a.
81.	Kamal Khan Son of Sultan Alauddin (Indian)	B.N., 567; T.U., 13 b.
82.	Lal Wali	B.N., 43 a.
83.	Lashkar Khan Janjua (Indian)	T.U., 18 a.
84.	Muhammad Qasim Mughal	B.N. 599.
85.	Qutlu Qadam Qarawal	B.N., T.U., 11b.
86.	Qismati Mirza	B.N., 474.
87.	Qasim Hussain Sultan	B.N.,550.
88.	Qawwam Beg son of Urdu Shah	B.N., 550,556; T.U.13 b.
89.	Quchak Beg brother of Tardi Beg	T.U. 16 a.
90.	Khwaja Rahim Dad paternal nephew of Mahdi Khwaja.	B.N.539-40.
91.	Rafiuddin Safari (Irani)	B.N., 539, 606.
92.	Rustam Turkistani	B.N., 568; T.U., 17 a.
93.	Shah Mir Hussain Qarlaq	B.N. 463, 422, T.U., 12 a.
94.	Shah Mansur Barlas	B.N., 465-6.
95.	Tengri Bardi	B.N., 472.
96.	Tardika	T.U., 12 a.
97.	Taj Khan Sarang Khani (Indian)	B.N., 657.
98.	Timur Sultan Uzbek	T.U., 17b.
99.	Tukhta Beg Sultan Chaghtai	B.N., 647.
100.	Wali Khazin Qarquzi	T.U., 16 b.
101.	Yadgar Nasir Mirza	T.U., 17 b.
102.	Amir Yunus Ali son of Baba Ali	B.N., 398, 472.
103.	Shaikh Zain Khwafi (Irani)	B.N., 476; T.U., 11 a.
104.	Qazi Jia (Indian)	B.N. 546.
105.	Muhammad Zaitun (Indian)	T.U., 15b.
106.	Husain Aqa Sistani (Irani)	B.N., 566.
107.	Mulla Apaq	B.N., 598.
108.	Mir Birdi Beg	B.N., 590.

109.	Tardi Beg	T.U., 11 a.
110.	Sadar Khan (Indian)	T.U., 13 a.
111.	Sulaiman	T.U., 13 a.
112.	Arohi Sarwani (Indian)	T.U., 14 a.
113.	Sher Afghan brother of Quch Beg	T.U. 15 a.
114.	Rahim Dad (Indian)	T.U., 15 a.
115.	Tatar Khan (Indian)	T.U., 17 a.
116.	Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi (Indian)	T.U., 18 b.

IV. HINDUSTANI NOBLES WHO WERE GRANTED PARGANAS AND THEIR VALUE OF SOME OF THE ASSIGNMENTS ARE KNOWN.

1.	2.	3.
Name of the Noble	**Value of the Assignment in Tankas**	**Name of the Pargana(s) assigned**
1. Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi	Not mentioned	Dipalpur (T.F.II/20).
2. Badruddin's son	-do-	Kachwah (B.N.II/590).
3. Dilawar Khan Lodi	-do-	Sultanpur (T.F. II/24).
4. Firoz Khan Mewati	-do-	Pargana (s) not mentioned (B.N.ii/478).
5. Malik Dad Karrani	-do-	Pargana (s) not mentioned (B.N. ii/478)
6. Milli Surduk	-do-	Pargana(s) not mentioned (B.N. Bev. ii/478)
7. Muhammad Zaitun	Several Lakhs	Pargana not mentioned (B.N. ii/540)
8. Nahar Khan Mewati	Several Lakhs	Parganas not mentioned (B.N. Bev. ii/578)
9. Sher Khan Sur	Not mentioned	Parganas not mentioned (B.N. ii/652)
10.Alam Khan Tahanagri	Not known	Tahanagar

11. Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi		-do-				Benaras
12. Mahmud Khan the Shiqdar		-do-				Sikandarpur
13. Taj Khan Sarang Khani		-do-				Chunar
	cr.	Lac.	Th.	Hund		
14. Alam Khan of Kalpi	4	28	55	950		Kalpi
15. Firoz Khan Sarang	1	46	05	-		Jaunpur.
16. Taj Khan Sarang	-	-	-	-		Chunar
17. Tatar Khan Sarang Khani	-	20	-	-		Bianwan
18. Ismail Jilwani	-	72	-	-		from Sarwar, B.N.ii/679; Turkish Text, f. 377 a.
19. Fath Khan Sarwani	1	60	-	-		Pargana held by his father and some Parganas (Karah Manipur) B.N.ii/537; Turkish text, f.302b.
20. Nizam Khan of Biana	-	20	-	-		Pargana in Mian-i-Doab, B.N. Bev. ii/539; Turkish text, f. 304 a.
21. Daulat Khan Lodi	3	-	-	-		from Jullundhar & Sultanpur, B.N.ii/459; Erskine, I, P.419.
22. Mother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi	-	7-35		-		from Agra region B.N., ii/478.
23. Qasim Khan Shambhali	-	-	-	-		Sambhal, B.N.Bev. ii/528-29.

V. HINDUSTANI NOBLES WHOSE ASSIGNMENTS ARE NOT MENTIONED BUT WHO ARE FOUND IN BABUR'S SERVICE.

Name of the Noble	References for their Services to Babur.
1. Araish Khan	B.N. Bev.ii/463,565,593 & 663.
2. Bairan Deo Malinhas	B.N. Bev.ii/462
3. Shaikh Ghuran	B.N. Bev.ii/526, 528 -29, 539, 576, 587, 590, 666, 686, 690.
4. Hamid	B.N. Bev. ii/547.
5. Jalal Khan, S/o Alauddin Alam Khan	B.N. Bev. ii/557 & 567.
6. Shaikh Jamal Farmuli	B.N. Bev. ii/551, 631, 665, 676.
7. Kamal Khan S/o Alauddin Alam Khan	B.N.Bev.ii/567.
8. Makan	B.N. Bev. ii/547.
9. Mulla Muhammad Mazhar	B.N. Bev.ii/463, 637.
10. Qasim Sambhali	B.N.Bev.ii/523, 528-29,547.
11. Rao Sarwani	B.N. Bev.ii/538, 587-88, 682.

VI. TITLES CONFERRED UPON AFGHAN AMIRS AND NOBLES UNDER BABUR.

Name	Title	Year	Source
1. Dilawar Khan Lodi S/o Daulat Khan Lodi	Khan-i-Khanan Yusuf Khail	1525 A.D.	Erskine, I, P. 419.
2. Mahmud Khan	Khan Jahan Khan	1525 A.D.	Erskine, I, P.419.
3. Fath Khan Sarwani	Khan-i-Jahan	1526 A.D.	B.N II, PP. 544-45.
4. Shaikh Ghuran	Abdul Fath	1527 A.D.	Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi, PP. 440-41.
5. Nizam Khan	'Pillar of the	1527 A.D.	B.N. II, P.567.

	Nobility'		
6. Araish Khan	'Pillar of Great one's The Mighty Khan	1527 A.D.	B.N. II, P.565.
7. Ali Khan Farmuli	The most excellent Officer of pillar of the Nobility	1527 A.D.	B.N. II, P.567.
8. Alauddin Alam Khan	'reservoir of sove-Reignty' and ally of the Khilat	1527 A.D.	B.N. II, P. 566.
9. Mahmud Lodi S/o Jalaluddin Sharqi	Sultan object of royal 'favour'	1527 A.D.	B.N. II, P.652.

VII. HONOURS AND REWARDS GRANTED TO AFGHAN AMIRS BY BABUR.

Name	Honours	Year	Source
1. Malik Shah Mansur Yusufzai, father of Babur	A robe of honour of a long silk coat and an undercoat	1519 A.D.	B.N. II, P.400.
2. Mir Jamal, S/o Shah Mansur	Honoured	1519 A.D.	B.N. II, P.400.
3. Taus Khan, b/o Shah Mansur	Khilat	1519 A.D.	B.N. II, P.400.
4. Fath Khan Sarwani	A Khilat & a Saropa	1526 A.D.	B.N. II, P.544-45.
5. Ahmad Khan Lodi	A Khilat	1526 A.D.	T.A, II, P.420.
6. Alam Khan Sarwani	Honoured	1527 A.D.	T.A. II, P.35.
7. Yahya Nuhani	Khilat (dress of honour)	1528 A.D.	not mentioned.
8. Shah Muhammad S/o Maruf Farmuli	A tipuchaq horse and a special dress of honour.	1529 A.D.	B.N. II, P.679.
9. Musa Farmuli	A Khilat and a horse	1529 A.D.	B.N. II, P.679.

10. Jalaluddin Sharqi	Granted a number of dress of honour	1529 A.D.	B.N. II, P.652.
11. Ismail Khan (envoy of Nusrat Shah of Bengal.	A Khilat	1529 A.D.	B.N. II, P.640.

VIII. HINDUSTANI NOBLES IN WHOSE CASES THE VALUE OF ASSIGNMENTS ARE MENTIONED BY BABUR.

1	2			3
Name of the Noble	**Value of the Assignment in Tankas**			**Name of the Pargana/ against which the Assignment was made**
	Cr -	**Lac-**	**Thous**	
1. Ali Khan Farmuli	-	25	-	Name of the Pargana not mentioned, B.N. Bev.ii/ 527;Turkish Text, f. 296 b.
2. Shaikh Bayazid Farmuli	1	48	50	Awadh, B.N. Bev. ii/527; Turkish Text, 296 b.
3. Jalal Khan Nuhani	2	55	60	from Bihar, B.N. Bev. ii/676; Turkish Text, f. 375 b.
4. Mahmud Khan Nuhani	-	90	35	from Ghazipur, B.N. Bev. ii./527; Turkish Text, f.296 b.
5. Musa Farmuli son of Maruf Farmuli	-	30	-	Pargana from Amrohar (Amroha), B.N. Bev. ii/ 685; Turkish Text, f.380 a.
6. Yahya Nuhani	-	15	-	from Sarwar, B.N. Persian/ 517 a; Turkish Text, f. 379 a.
7. Shah Muhammad Farmuli	1	10	18	Saran, Source not mentioned.
	-	43	30	Kandla, source not

			mentioned.
8. Alaul Khan Nuhani		not mentioned	from Sarwar, B.N. Persian/514 a.
9. Shah Muhammad Son of Maruf Farmuli	-	- -	from Saran and Kandla, B.N. Bev. ii/679.
10. Shaikh Jamal Farmuli	-	- -	not mentioned. B.N., Bev.ii/551, 631.

IX. CENTRAL ASIAN NOBLES HOLDING VARIOUS OFFICES UNDER BABUR.

1	2	3	4
Name of Noble	**Office (Post) held**	**Place of Appointment**	**References**
1. Abdul Aziz	Mir Akhaur	Lahore	B.N. i/404.
2. Abdul Ghaffar	Tawachi	Lahore	B.N.ii/638.
3. Abdul Maluk	Qurchi	Lahore	B.N.ii/576.
4. Abdul	Kitabdar	-	B.N.i/398.
5. Abdul Fath Turkman	Shiqdar	Dholpur	B.N. ii/540.
6. Abul Muhammad	Nezabaz	Shamsabad	B.N.ii/473, 598.
7. Ahmadi	Parwanchi	-	B.N.i/377.
8. Mir Ali	Qurchi	-	B.N.ii/584.
9. Darweshi Muhammad	Sarban	-	B.N. i/402.
10. Dost Beg	Diwan	Delhi	B.N.ii/476.
11. Faghfur	Diwan	-	B.N.ii/687.
12. Ghiyasuddin	Qurchi	-	B.N.ii/628.
13. Husain Beg	Diwan	Lahore	B.N.ii/628.
14. Kichik Ali	Shiqdar	Kol	B.N./176.
15. Mir Khurd	Bakawal	-	B.N.i/388.
16. Mir Muhammad	Jalaban	-	B.N.i/378.
17. Muhammad Khalil	Akhtabegi	-	B.N.ii/538.
18. Muhammad Muqim	Diwan-i- Bayutat	-	T.A. Persian Text, P.28.
19. Muhammad Sultan Bakshi	Bakshi	-	B.N.i/404.
20. Muhibb-i Ali	Qurchi	-	B.N.i/404.
21. Mulla Apaq	Shiqdar	Chanderi	B.N. ii/598.

22.	Mulla Ghulam	Yasawal	-	B.N.ii/676.
23.	Mumin –i- Ali	Tawachi	-	B.N.ii/451, 580.
24.	Khwaja Murshid Iraqi	Diwan	Bihar	B.N. ii/662.
25.	Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa	Wakil	-	T.A. Persian Text, 6, 29.
26.	Qasim	Mir Akhaur	-	B.N.i/91.
27.	Shaikh Zain	Sadar	-	M.T., i/509.; A.N. i/280.
28.	Shah Hussain	Bakhshi	-	B.N. ii/685.
29.	Shah Muhammad	Muhrdar	-	B.N.ii/688.
30.	Wali	Khazin	-	B.N.i/369.
31.	Wali Qizil	Shiqdar	Delhi	B.N.ii/476.
32.	Yusuf-i-Ali	Rikabdar	-	B.N.ii/40.

X. CENTRAL ASIAN NOBLES IN WHOSE CASES THE AMOUNT OF ASSIGNMENT IS MENTIONED AND SOME CASES ONLY THE PLACE OF ASSIGNMENT IS MENTIONED.

1	2	3	4
Name of Noble	**Value of the/Parganas Territory in Tankas Lacs**	**Name of the Place**	**References**
1. Asian Timur Sultan	30	Narnaul	B.N. Persian/515 a.
2. Chin Timur Sultan	50	Tijara	B.N. ii/579.
3. Mahdi Khwaja	70	Biana	B.N. ii/539.
4. Muhammad Sultan Mirza	30	Qanuaj	B.N.ii/582.
5. Sultan Muhammad Duldai	15	Sirhind	B.N.ii/582.
6. Tardika	15	Alwar	B.N.ii/579.
7. Tughta Bugha Khan	30	Shamsabad	B.N. Persian/515 a.
8. Abdul Aziz Mir Akhaur	-	Lahore	T.F.ii/25.
9. Abdul Muhammad Nezabaz	-	Shamsabad	B.N.ii/598.
10. Ahmad-i-Yusuf	-	Sialkot	B.N. Persian/77 b.
11. Baba Qashqa	-	Dipalpur	T.F., ii/25
12. Baba Sultan	-	Rohtak	T.R./281
13. Baqi Shaghawal	-	Dipalpur	B.N.ii/463.
14. Hindu Beg	-	Bhira	B.N.i/386.
15. Husain Azek	-	Chenab	B.N.i/386.

16.	Khusrau Kokuldash	-	Sialkot	T.F. ii/25.
17.	Langar Khan	-	Khushab	B.N.i/388.
18.	Mahdi Khwaja	-	Etawah	B.N.ii/530.
19.	Muhammad Ali Jang Jang	-	Kalanuar	T.F.ii/25.
		-	Malot	B.N. ii/461.
			Rapri	B.N.ii/530.
20.	Muhammadi Kokultash	-	Samana	B.N.ii/ 528.
21.	Muhammad Kokuldash	-	Samana	B.N.ii/528.
22.	Mulla Apaq Irij	-	Irij	A.N.i/268.
23.	Qasimi-i-Sultan	-	Badaun	B.N. ii/582.
24.	Qasim Khwaja	-	Wilayat of his brother	B.N.ii/674.
25.	Rahimdad	-	Gwalior	B.N. ii/539.
26.	Shah Mir Husain	-	Jaunpur	B.N.ii/544.
27.	Sultan Junaid Barlas	-	Dholpur	B.N.ii/530.
		-	Jaunpur	B.N.ii/544.
		-	Chunar	B.N.ii/682.
28.	Sultan Muhammad Aughli	-	Panipat	Tarikh-i-Shahi/113-114.
29.	Tardi Beg Khaksar	-	Sarsawa	B.N.ii/467.
30.	Yaka Khwaja brother of Qasim Khwaja	-	Not mentioned	B.N.ii/674.

XI CENTRAL ASIAN NOBLES WHO ARE FOUND RENDERING MILITARY SERVICES, I.E. SERVING IN EXPEDITIONS/BATTLES/ DETACHMENTS BUT NOT HOLDING ASSIGNMENTS.

	Name of the Noble	References
1.	Abdur Shakur	B.N. ii/566.
2.	Abdur Rahim	B.N. i-ii/381, 543 & 578.
3.	Aughan Birdi Mughal	B.N. i/376-77 & 71-72.
4.	Baba Chuhra	B.N.ii/474, 534, 590 & 671.
5.	Baba Shaikh	B.N.ii/661.
6.	Bujka	B.N.ii/458, 474, 534, 545 & 547.
7.	Hasan S/o Khalifa	B.N.ii/679.
8.	Hisamuddin Ali S/o Khalif	B.N.ii/601& 687.

9.	Jafar Khwaja S/o Mahdi Khwaja	B.N. ii/579, 598 & 682.
10.	Jan Beg	B.N. ii/458, 464,471, 472, 530, 501, 567 & 682.
11.	Kamaluddin Badakshi	B.N. ii/566.
12.	Karim Birdi	B.N. ii/661.
13.	Khwaja Dost -i Khwand	B.N.i-ii/343, 385, 544, 565.
14.	Khwaja Mir-i-Miran	B.N. i-ii/174, 376, 354, 409, 460, 472, 525.
15.	Kuki S/o Baba Kashqa	B.N.ii/601 & 669.
16.	Mahndi	B.N. i/335, 473.
17.	Mir Hamah	B.N.ii/546 & 566.
18.	Mirza Beg Tarkhan	B.N. ii/472.
19.	Mughal Abdul Wahab	B.N. ii/673-74.
20.	Muhibb-i Ali S/o Khalifa	B.N.ii/471, 472, 549, 601.
21.	Mohsin Duldai	B.N.ii/590.
22.	Mustafa Rumi	B.N.ii/474, 566-569, 668 - 70.
23.	Mulla Mahmud	B.N. ii/643, 653.
24.	Muyad	B.N. ii/580.
25.	Muzaffar-i-Husain	B.N. ii/662
26.	Nur Beg	B.N. i-ii/418, 673, 688-89, 690.
27.	Naurang Beg	Tarikh –i- Shahi/127.
28.	Pir Quli Sistani	B.N.ii/472, 530, 531, 566.
29.	Qara Quzi	B.N. ii/471, 473
30.	Qayam Beg Aurdushah	B.N. i-ii/403, 421, 530, 566.
31.	Qismati Mirza	B.N. i-ii/474, 545, 547-48.
32.	Qurban Chirkhi	B.N.i-ii/381, 669 & 678.
33.	Qutluq Qadam	B.N. i-ii/ 381, 335 , 403, 424, 458, 460, 468, 471-72, 475-530-31, 567.
34.	Rustam Ali	B.N. i-ii/335, 377, 538, 568.
35.	Sher Afghan b/0 Quj Beg	B.N. ii/538.
36.	Hussain Khan	B.N. ii/581-82, 669, 678.
37.	Shah Hussain Yaragi Mughal	B.N.ii/472/530, 531& 567.
38.	Shah Iskander	B.N. ii/644.
39.	Shaikh Muhammad	B.N. ii/582.
40.	Sulaiman Mirza	B.N. ii/472, 565; A.N.i/274-75.
41.	Tahir Tibri	B.N. ii/475 & 549.

42.	Tang Atmish Sultan	B.N. ii/631 & 669.
43.	Tardi Beg	B.N.ii/472, 538, 565, 582, 590 & 602.
44.	Tardi Muhammad S/o Muhammad Ali Jang Jang	B.N.ii/661 & 664.
45.	Tarsam Bahadur	Tarikh –i-Shahi/127.
46.	Tingri Birdi Mughal	B.N.ii/473.
47.	Tulmish Auzbek	B.N.ii/669 & 676.
48.	Ustad Ali Quli	B.N. ii/369, 466, 469, 473, 536, 547, 570-71.
49.	Yunus-i-Ali	B.N.ii/472, 475, 526, 543, 545.
50.	Zahid Khwaja	B.N. ii/557, 682.
51.	Zardai	B.N. ii/668.

XII. GIFTS AND HONOURS CONFERRED BY BABUR TO CENTRAL ASIAN NOBLES.

	Name of the Nobles	Items of Insignias	Items of weapons	Items of robe	Items of horses
	1	2	3	4	5
1.	Asian Timur Sultan	Jildu	Kamar-i-Khanjar	Jabah & Khilat	Asp-itipuchaq
2.	Chin Timur	-	Kamar-i- Shamshir	Charqab	-
3.	Darwesh –i-Mohammad Sarban	-	-	Khilat-I Khasa	Asp-i-Zinder
4.	Hasan-i Ali	-	Kamar-i- Khanjar murrassa	Sar-u-pa	-
5.	Hindu Beg	-	Kamar-i-Shamshir-i-murrassa	Sar-u-pa-Khasa	Tipucha q
6.	Khwaja Kalan	Togh	-	-	-
7.	Langar Khan	Togh	-	-	-
8.	Mahdi Khwaja	-	Kamar-i-samshir Kamar-i-Khanjar	Charqab	-
9.	Mir Muhammad	-	Khanjar	-	-

10.	Mohd. Ali Jang Jang	Togh	-	Jabah-i qalmaqi-or-Black velvet	-
11.	Muhammad Zaman Mirza	Chatr	Kamar-i-Shamshir	Sar-u-p-i Khasa	Tipucha q
12.	Muhammad Sultan Mirza	-	Kamar-i-Shamshir Khamr-i-Khanjar	Charqab	-
13.	Quj Beg	-	-	Dastar	-
14.	Tuqta Bugha Sultan	Jildu	Kamar-i-Shamshir	Jabbah & Khilat	Aspi-tipuchaq
15.	Ustad Ali Quli	-	Kamar-i-Khanjar	Khilat	Tipucha q

XIII. RELIGIOUS SAINTS, HAKIMS AND MAULANAS DURING HUMAYUN'S COURT.

1.	Maulana Khwaja Kashani	d. 949 A.H.
2.	Khwaja Abdul Haq	d. 959 A.H.
3.	Khwaja Khwand Mahmud	d. 954.
4.	Shaikh Abdul Quddus	d. 946.
5.	Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Chisti	d. 946.
6.	Shaikh Hussain Khwarizmi	d. 956.
7.	Shaikh Aman Panipati	d. 957.
8.	Shaikh Abdul Latif Jami	d. 963.
9.	Shaikh Sulaiman Maudani	d.945
10.	Shaikh Alauddin Bin Nuruddin, a descendent of Farid Ganj Shakar	d. 948.
11.	Shaikh Hussain Multani	d. 945.
12.	Shaikh Mansoor	d. 963.
13.	Shaikh Abdul Fath Hidayatullah Sarmast	d. 963.
14.	Shaikh Alauddin Mazhab	d. 948.
15.	Shaikh Manjhu Ajmeri	d. 953.
16.	Shaikh Ibrahim	d. 950.

17.	Shaikh Hasan	d. 963.
18.	Shaikh Alauddin Bin Shaikh Badruddin	d. 945.
19.	Mian Qazi Khan Zafarabadi	d. 950.
20.	Shaikh Abdul Qadir Bin Shaikh Muhammad Hussain Gilani	d. 940.
21.	Shah Jalal Shirazi	d. 944.
22.	Shaikh Muhammad Hassan	d. 944.
23.	Khwaja Khalu	d. 940.
24.	Shaikh Saleem Chisti	d. 979.
25.	Darvesh Bahram Bukhari Saqqa	d. 966.
26.	Maulana Fakhruddin Ali al-Naqshbandi was learned in mysticism	d. 939.
27.	Mir Abdul Baqa was one of the most trusted nobles of Babur and Humayun and had to his credit several noted works.	d. 948.
28.	Maulana Usamuddin Isfaraini, writer of numerous works, among which may be mentioned Hashia-i-Baizawi; Tatwy, Fawaid-i- Ziabia.	d. 944.
29.	Khwandmir wrote Habib-Siyar , Qanuni Humayuni and he was tittled as Amir-i Muwarikh.	d. 942.
30.	Maulana Hanafi, author of Adab-ul-Mutaallimi	Died at Bukhara in 947.
31.	Syed Mirak Shah author of Hasan-i-Sharah-i- Hasan –i- Hasin	d. 956.
32.	Mir Yahya Qazwini, author of Lubb-ul-Tawarikh	d. 946.
33.	Maulana Shahabuddin, a noted scholar and enigmatist	d. 994.
34.	Shaikh Musa Lahori, a noted reciter of the Quran	d. 963.
35.	Mir Syed Rafiuddin, a student of Hadis or the Prophet Muhammad's sayings.	d. 954.
36.	Maulana Shamshuddin Muhammad Shirazi author of Maasir-i-Mahmud Shahi .	-
37.	Maulana Jalaluddin, Sadr-us-Sadur in Humayun's time. Died of a wound received at the battle of Chausa.	d. 946.
38.	Shaikh Hasan Bin Mahmud Ansari Shirazi, a	d. 956.

calligraphist.

39. Shaikh Jalaluddin Bin Abdullah, a calligraphist and rhetorician. d. 961.

40. Maulana Muhammad MajdKhudawand Khan, a noted noble man of Gujrat who came over to Humayun after his conquest of Bahadur Shah's Kingdom. d. 959.

41. Sayyid Muhammad Bin Sayyid Muazzam, and elocutionist. d. 963.

XIV. HONOURS AND TITLES GRANTED TO NOBLES BY HUMAYUN

Name	Honour & Title	Year	Source
Bakshu Langah	Chahar Tugh and Naggarra (insignia of royalty)	1534	H.N., P.534.
Jalal Khan s/o Nasir Khan	Honour of carrying Chahar Tugh	1534	Q. H, P.423.
Jalal Khan s/o Sultan Alauddin	Chahar Tugh and Naggara (insignia of royalty-a-rare honour to a noble man	1534	Q.H., P.403.
Khwaja Mustaufi	Crown of dignity	1534	Q.H., P.42.
Muhammad Khan Sarwani	Carried Chahar Tugh	1534	Q.H., P.423.
Sher Khan Sur	Khilat	1528	Q.H. P.423.
Shaikh Wahiduddin Abdul Wajd	Amir-ush Shura	1534	Q.H. P.42.
Maulana Shihabuddin Mummai	Amir-uz-Zarf	1534	Q.H. P.42.
Amir Hasan	Amir-us-salat	1534	Q.H., P.42.
Diya uddin Nur Beg	Amir-uz-Zakat	1534	Q.H., P.42.
Amir Rida	Amir-i-Hajj	1534	Q.H., P.42.
Amir Qasim Muhammad Khalil	Amir-i-Lutf	1534	Q.H. P.42
Amir Baba Ishah	Amir –i-Ghadab	1534	Q.H., P.42.
Amir Shah Hussain	Amir –i- Farghat	1534	Q.H., P.42.
Khawandmir	Amir-ul-Akhbar	1534	Q.H., P.42.

Muhammad Hindal	Crowns and valuable robes of honour	1534	Q.H., PP.78-79.
Nasir Mirza	-do-	1534	Q.H., PP. 78-79.
Abdullah Sultan	Robes of honour	1534	Q.H., PP. 78-79.
Sultan Ali Mirza	Robes of honour	1534	Q.H., PP.78-79.
Amir Mubariz-uddin Faqr Ali	Robes of honour	1534	Q.H., PP. 78-79.
Mirza Qasim Arghun	Insignia of new rank	1534	Q.H., PP. 78-79.
Yusuf Beg S/o Ibrahim Tughai	Woolen robes	1534	Q.H., PP.78-79.
Amir Muhammad Hussain Kapak-Bafi	Woolen robes	1534	Q.H., PP. 78-79.
Amir Baba Ghadab Begi	Woolen robes	1534	Q.H., PP. 78-79.

XV. LIST OF NOBLE LADIES PRESENT AT HUMAYUN'S COURT. HUMAYUN NAMA, PP.120-125.

1. Fakh-r Jahan Begum
2. Badi-ul- Jamal Begum
3. Aq Begum
4. Sultan Bakht Begum
5. Guhar Shad Begum
6. Khadija Sultan Begum
7. Shhr – Bano Begum
8. Yadgar Sultan Begum
9. Aisha Sultan Begum, daughter of Sultan Hussain Mirza.
10. Ulugh Begum, daughter of Zainab Sultan Begum, a paternal aunt of his Majesty.
11. Aisha Sultan Begum
12. Sultani Begum, daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza, paternal (Great) uncle Of his Majesty and mother of Kilan Khan Begum.
13. Bega Sultan Begum, daughter of Sultan Khalil Mirza, paternal (grand) Uncle of his Majesty.
14. Maham Begum
15. Begi Begum, daughter of Ulugh Beg Mirza Kabuli, paternal (grand) uncle of his Majesty.

16. Khanzada Begum, daughter of Sultan Masood Mirza; on her mother's side, grand-daughter of Payanda Muhammad Sultan Begum, paternal aunt of his Majesty.
17. Shah Khanam, daughter of Badi-ul-Jamal Begum.
18. Khanam Begum, daughter of Aq Begum.
19. Zainab Sultan Khanam, daughter of Sultan Mahmud Khan, eldest maternal (grand) uncle of his majesty.
20. Muhibb Sultan Khanam, daughter of Sultan Ahmad Khan, known as Ilacha Khan, the younger maternal uncle of the elder Emperor (Babur)
21. Khanish, sister of Mirza Haider and daughter of maternal (great) aunt of his Majesty.
22. Bega Kilan Begum.
23. Kichak Begum.
24. Shah Begum, mother of Dilshad Begum, and daughter of Fakhr-Jahan, Paternal (great) aunt of his Majesty.
25. Kichakna Begum.

26. Apas (Afaq) Begum, daughter of Sultan Bakht Begum.
27. Mihr-liq (Mihr-Banu) Begum.
28. Shad Begum, grand-daughter of Sultan Hussain Mirza and daughter of a paternal aunt of his Majesty.
29. Mihr –Angez Begum, daughter of Muzaffar Hussain Mirza and grand child of Sultan Hussain Mirza.
30. Gul Begum.
31. Fauq Begum.
32. Khan Begum.
33. Afroz-Bano Begum.
34. Agha Begum.
35. Firoza Begum.
36. Barlas Begum.
37. Agha Sultan Aghacha, mother of Yadgar Sultan Begum.
38. Atun mama.
39. Salima.
40. Sakina.
41. Bibi Habiba.
42. Hanifa Bega.
43. Masuma Sultan Begum.
44. Gul-rang Begum.
45. Gul-Chihra Begum.
46. This insignificant one, the broken Gul-badan.

47. Aqiqa Sultan Begum.
48. Dildar Begum.
49. Gul-barg Begum.
50. Bega Begum.
51. Maham's Kanacha.
52. Sultanam, the wife of Amir Khalifa.
53. Alush Begum.
54. Nahid Begum.
55. Khurshid Kuka, and the children of royal fathers' foster-brothers.
56. Afghani Aghacha.
57. Gul-nar aghacha.
58. Naz-gul aghacha.
59. Makhduma Agha, the wife of Hindu Beg.
60. Fatima Sultan anaga, the mother of Roshan Koka.
61. Fakhru-n-nisa anaga, the mother of Nadim Kuka.
62. The wife of Muhammadi Kuka.
63. The wife of Muy'id Beg.
64. The Kukas of his Majesty : Kurshid Kuka.
65. Sharifu-n-nisa Kuka.
66. Fath Kuka
67. Rabia Sultan Kuka.
68. Mah-liqa Kuka.
69. Our nurses (anaga)
70. Our Kukas.
71. The begam's people and the wives of the amirs.
72. Salima Bega.
73. Bibi Neka.
74. Khanam agha, daughter of Khwaja Abdullah Marwardi.
75. Nighar Agha, mother of Mughal Beg.
76. Nur Sultan Agha.
77. Agha Kuka, wife of Munim Khan.
78. Daughter of Mir Shah Hussain (illegible) Bega.
79. Kisak Maham.
80. Kabuli Maham.
81. Begi Agha.
82. Khanam Agha.
83. Saadat Sultan Agha.
84. Bibi Daulat-bakht.
85. Nasib Agha.
86. Kabuli.

XVI. LIST OF NOBLES WHO ACCOMPANIED HUMAYUN TO IRAN.

AKBAR NAMA, I, P.221-2.

1. Bairam Khan.
2. Khwaja Muazzam.
3. Aqil sultan Uzbek.
4. Haji Muhammad Koki.
5. Roshan Koka.
6. Hasan Beg brother of Mahram Koka.
7. Khwaja Maqsud of Hirat.
8. Khwaja Ghazi Tabrezi.
9. Khwaja Aminuddin Harvi.
10. Baba Dost Bakshi.
11. Darwesh Muhammad Bangali Harvi.
12. Hasan Ali Ishq Aqa.
13. Ali Dost Barbegi son of Hasan Ali Ish Aqa.
14. Ibrahim Ishq Aqa.
15. Yusuf Choli a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad Yasvi.
16. Shaikh Bahlol.
17. Maulana Nuruddin.
18. Mohammad Qasim Mauji.
19. Haider Muhammad Akhta Begi.
20. Sayyid Muhammad Pakna.
21. Sayyid Muhammad Quli Harvi.
22. Hafiz Sultan Muhammad Rakhna.
23. Mirza Beg Biloch of Khurasan and his son.
24. Khwaja Ambar Nazir.
25. Arif Tushkachin Mamluko.

XVII. THE LIST OF EXALTED PERSONS WHO WERE APPOINTED TO TAKE PART IN THE GREAT EXPEDITION FOR HUMAYUN IN IRAN BY SHAH.

AKBAR NAMA, PP.441-42.

1. Mirza Murad.
2. Budagh Khan Qajar, the Mirza's tutor.
3. Shah Quli Sultan Afshar, governor of Kirman.
4. Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, son of Muhammad Khalifa.
5. Sanjar Sultan Afshar, governor of Farah.
6. Yar Ali Sultan Takhi.
7. Sultan Ali Afshar.

8. Sultan Quli Qurcibashi a relation of Muhammad Khan.
9. Yaqub Mirza, taghai (maternal uncle) of Sultan Muhammad Khuda Banda (Tahmasp's eldest son).
10. Sultan Hussain Quli Shamlu, brother of Ahmad Sultan Governor of Sistan.
11. Adham Mirza, son of Deo Sultan.
12. Tahamtan Mirza son of Deo Sultan.
13. Haider Sultan Shaibani.
14.& 15. His sons 'Ali Quli and Bahadur.
16. Maqsud Mirza Akhta begi, son of Zainuddin Sultan Shamlu.
17. Mohammad Mirza, grandson of Jahan Shah Mirza, known as Shah Yazdi Beg.
18. Kacal Istajlu.
19. Ali Sultan Culaq, sisters' son of Muhammad Khan.
20. Abul- Fath Sultan Afsar.
21. Hasan Sultan Shamlu.
22. Yadgar Sultan Moslu.
23. Ahmad Sultan Alash Aghli Istajlu.
24. Safi Wali Sultan, descendant of the Sufis, Khalifa of the Rumlu.
25. Ali Beg Zulfiqar Kush.
26. Muhammadi Beg Kitabdar (Librarian) Qajar.

XVIII. LIST OF NOBLES ACCOMPANIED HUMAYUN TO INDIA

TAZKIRE-i-HUMAYUN-O- AKBAR.

pp. 176-187.

AKBARNAMA., I, PP. 623-24.

1. Bairam Khan
2. Shah Abul Maali
3. khizr Khwaja Khan (Beyazid, Khizr Sultan Mughal).
4. Tardi Beg Khan
5. Sikandar Khan
6. Khizra Khan Hazara
7. Abu-l-lah Khan Uzbek.
8. Mirza Abdullah Mughal
9. Musahib Beg.
10. Ali Quli Khan Shaibani (or sistani)
11. Khwaja Muazzam.
12. Ali Quli Khan Andrabi
13. Haider Muhammad Akhta Begi
14. Babus Beg.

15. Ismail Beg Duldai.
16. Mirza Hasan Khan.
17. Mirza Nizat
18. Muhammad Khan Jalair
19. Qanduq Sultan.
20. Muhammad Amin Diwana
21. Tulak Khan
22. Baqi Beg Yatkishbegi (head of the guards).
23. Lal Khan Badakhshi.
24. Beg Muhammad Akhtabegi.
25. Khwaja Padshah Meriz.
26. Kichak Khan.
27. Khwaja Abdul Bari.
28. Khwaja Abdullah.
29. Mir Muin.
30. Mir Ghani.
31. Shah Fakhruddin.
32. Mir Mohsin Dai.
33. Khwaja Hussain of Merv.
34. Mir Abdul-Hai.
35. Mir Abdul-Lah Qanuni
36. Khanjar Beg (Bayazid, a relation of Tardi Beg.).
37. Arif Beg.
38. Khwaja 'Abdus Samad'.
39. Mir Sayyid Ali.
40. Mulla 'Abdu-l-Qadir.
41. Mulla Ilyas of Andrabil (Astronomer).
42. Shaikh 'Abul-qasim Jorjani.
43. Maulana Abdul-baqi.
44. Afzal Khan, Mir bakhshi .
45. Khwaja Abdul Majid Diwan.
46. Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi.
47. Qasim Makhlas.
48. Khwaja ' Ata-u-llah diwan-i- bayutat.
49. Khwaja Abul- qasim Mashedi.
50. Shaibuddin Ahmad Khan.
51. Muin KhanFaran Khudi.
52. Khwaja Aminu-d-din Mahmudi
53. Mulk Akhtar.
54. Mirza Abul Qasim S/o Kamran.

55. Khwaja Izhar Sultan Mughal.
56. Muhammad Yar Sultan.
57. Khwaja Muhammad Zakria.
58. Khawaja Abul Muin Qazak.
59. Khwaja Sultan.
60. Khwaja Shah.
61. Maulana Alauddin Lari.
62. Maulana Ilyas.
63. Maulana Beqsi.
64. Syed Ali Mussavar (Chitrakar).
65. Maulana Dost Mussavar (Chitrakar).
66. Haider.
67. Aqil Sultan.
68. Khwaja Hijri Jami.
69. Mulla Darwesh Mailli.
70. Hashim Hini, Darogha-i-Kitabkhana.
71. Mir Abdullah Bakhshi.
72. Qiya Gung.
73. Ali Quli Sultan Sfarchi.
74. Bahadur Sultan Muhardar.
75. Sunduq Ughlan.
76. Qare Bahadur Mirza.
77. Muhammad Ali Barlas.
78. Muhib Ali Beg.
79. Mir Ashqhar Munshi.
80. Baltu Beg.
81. Pahalwan Dost Mir Barqa.
82. Qazi Tawandi, (Qazi of Army).
83. Abdur Rahman.
84. Muhammad Qasim Kohbur.
85. Mir Sahib Nishapuri Mir Saman.
86. Qamber Beg (Bar-Begi).
87. Mirza Jalaluddin.
88. Sharoya.
89. Muhammad Murad.
90. Muhammad Nuyan.
91. Mir Muhammad Ghaznavi
92. Baba Sayyed Qichaq.
93. Muhammad Tahir.
94. Maulana Nuruddin.

95. Mir Muhammad Munshi.
96. Muhammad Hussain Samti.
97. Khwaja Jalauddin Mehmud Obhi.
98. Khwaja Sultan Ali Diwan.
99. Khwaja Mirza (Marwaridi Gultan).
100. Muhammad Qasim.
101. Khwaja Hasan.
102. Khwaja Muhib Ali Bakhsh.
103. Khwaja Maqsood Ali.
104. Khwaja Qasim Ali.
105. Khwaja Nuruddin Muhammad Najistani.
106. Khwaja Qasim Bayutat.
107. Khwaja Ghazi Shirazi.
108. Mir Sharif Sistani (Bakhshi-i-Hush).
109. Muhammad Hussain Nazir.
110. Khwaja Mustaufi.
111. Khwaja Sultan Ali.
112. Shaikh Nazar Chauli.
113. Khwaja Muhammad Tahir Bakhshi.
114. Mir Hashim.
115. Maulana Asad Mushraf.
116. Mirza Quli.
117. Majnu Khan Qaqshal.
118. Mirza Quli Chauli.
119. Baba Dost Chauli.
120. Khaliq Birdi.
121. Shaikh Yusuf Chauli.
122. Muhammad Ali Mir Khaq.
123. Hakim Zambil.
124. Hashim Haini.
125. Abul Qasim Ishak Agha.
126. Ali Dost Ishak Agha.
127. Baqi Baqlani.
128. Saqi.
129. Baba Parwanchi.
130. Saqi Lang.
131. Mazin Kitabdar.
132. Bolak Bibi Fatima Urdu Begi.
133. Mir Khawand.
134. Salih.

135. Jan Muhammad Kitabdar.
136. Muhammad Hussain Gang.
137. Muhammad Beg Qibchaq.
138. Muhammad Ali.
139. Mir Ki Jang Jang.
140. Altun Quliz Jana Kurbani.
141. Mir Qulij.
142. Jan Qulij.
143. Bad Bahar Muhammad.
144. Paynda Muhammad Mughal.
145. Shadman.
146. Sultan Muhammad Khan Kanilal.
147. Saqi Toq Begi.
148. Muhammad Momin.
149. Miraq Qarluq.
150. Ali Muhammad Qundazi.
151. Khwaja Muhammad Sultan Turbati.
152. Mir Qutubuddin Turbati Sahib-i-Tanji.
153. Khaq Ali Kalantar Imaq Aflanjaq.
154. Mir Toqpai Toqpaiyan.
155. Karsan Karawal.
156. Bakhshi Bakhshi
157. Miran Shaqawal Begi.
158. Jan Muhammad Babsudi.
159. Mir Muhammad Mauji.
160. Aziz Baqawal.
161. Beg Muhammad Jalair.
162. Shahin Beg.
163. Jan Muhammad Beg.
164. Hasan Khan.
165. Jiqun Jalair.
166. Murwardi.
167. Khwaja Muhammad Salih.
168. Abu Sayyid Turbati.
169. Sulaiman Quli Beg.
170. Tolaq Quchi.
171. Ala Ullah Beg.
172. Sulaiman Ulagh Mirza.
173. Muhammad Jan Turkman.
174. Lutfi Sirhindi.

175. Syed Muhammad Pakna.
176. Baqi Shaikh.
177. Hussain Quli Afsar.
178. Mihtar Vakila.
179. Mihtar Wasil.
180. Mihtar Unis Khazindar.
181. Mihtar Sambhal Hazar.
182. Mihtar Sabaqa Riqabdar.
183. Timur Sharbati.
184. Maulana Kitabdar
185. Rustam Ali.
186. Hasan Kha.
187. Muhib Surnami.
188. Rafiq.
189. Mihtar Haria Abdar.
190. Nuh.
191. Mihtar Rafiq Tokshakchi.
192. Qiya Beg Jawan.
193. Shaikh Hamid Sambali.
194. Darwesh Muhammad Uzbek.
195. Qi Tumsh Khalil-ullah Duldai.
196. Imad-ud-Husain.
197. Ali Dost Twachi.
198. Yari Toshak.
199. Alam Shah.
200. Mirza Ali.
201. Jan Baqi.
202. Khwaja Khan.
203. Rustam Ali.
204. Mihtar Kashmash.
205. Mihtar Johar Akhtar.
206. Mihtar Kochak Fath.

XIX. (a) NOBLES AND SERVANTS WITH PRINCE AKBAR
TAZKIR –I- HUMYAUN, PP.177-78.

1. Mir Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka Ghazni.
2. Maulana Abdul Qadir Akhawandi Harvi.
3. Muhammad Koka.
4. Yusuf Muhammad Koka.
5. Adham Koka.

6. Saif Koka.
7. Zain Koka.
8. Sadatyar Koka.
9. Jewan Koka.
10. Qutb-ud-Din Muhammad Atka Ghaznvi.
11. Mir Sharif Ghaznvi.
12. Shah Muhammad Ghaznvi.
13. Fazal Muhammad.
14. Farakh Muhammad.
15. Naurang Muhammad.
16. Baz Bahadur.
17. Gujar.
18. Mir Ibrahim Badakhshi.
19. Mir Abdullah.
20. Khwaja Amin Bakshi.
21. Khwaja Moin.
22. Khalifa Arif.
23. Mihtar Sani.
24. Rustam.
25. Hasan Ali Turkman Akhta Begi.
26. Tardi Muhammad.
27. Forchi Youbi.
28. Qatlu Qadam Kabul.
29. Jalaluddin Masud Diwan.
30. Muhib Ali Qoshji.
31. Qabul Parvanchi.
32. Khwaja Muhammad Sultan Mustaufi.
33. Dost Sahari.
34. Qambar Ali Sahari.
35. Mihtar Arghun.
36. Abul Hasan Dewana.
37. Mirak Ali.
38. Mulla Qasim Kahi.
39. Mir Qasim kahi.
40. Khalid Bin Bar Begi Togpai.
41. Pasai Qaqshal.
42. Mirza Beg Qaqshal.
43. Muhib Qaqshal.
44. Samagin Mughal.
45. Kamal-ud-Din Husain Diwan.

46. Shah Ali Ishaq Agha.
47. Maqsood Damnah.
48. Mulla Muhammad Imin Daftardar.
49. Sayyid Jalal.
50. Maqsud Bengali.
51. Mihtar Quli.
52. Mansur Jwachi Afshaba.

(b). <u>NOBLES AND SERVANTS UNDER BAIRAM KHAN</u>
<u>TAZKIR-I-HUMAYUN</u>, PP.176-178.

1. Bazmi Khan.
2. Muhammad Sayyid.
3. Abdul Rahim.
4. Makh Sus.
5. Muhammad Qara Sultan.
6. Muhammad Qasim Nishapuri.
7. Maulana Pir Muhammad Sherwani.
8. Tarson Muhammad.
9. Wali Beg Zulqadar.
10. Muhammad Beg.
11. Shah Budi Beg.
12. Habib Ali.
13. Sikander Beg.
14. Khwaja Bakr.
15. Sadiq Khan.
16. Hussain Beg.
17. Shah Quli Muharram.
18. Babai Zambur.
19. Hasan Quli Beg.
20. Ismail Quli.
21. Haji Muhammad Sistani.
22. Muhammad Sadiq.
23. Qara Taq.
24. Khwaja Muzaffar Ali.
25. Ahmadi Mahmudi.
26. Khwaja Tahir.
27. Maqsud Ali.
28. Baqwal Shahi.
29. Muhammad Qasim.
30. Haji Hussain.

31. Yar Haji.
32. Muhammad Wafa.
33. Zahid.
34. Jamal.
35. Haji Qara Akhta Begi.
36. Haji Arif.
37. Tamrika.
38. Aq Jan Mirshikar.
39. Iskandar Sultan.
40. Shah Burdi Beg.
41. Habib Ali.
42. Ustad Yusuf Tanbura.
43. Mir Quli.
44. Ghoghai Govenda.
45. Tahir Qabzi Khanazad.
46. Utagh Beg.
47. Khansaq Budi.
48. Muhammad Amin Dewana.
49. Mir Qalandar.
50. Faridun.
51. Yaqub Hamdani.
52. Khwaja Ubaid.
53. Maulana Salih Mushrif Astabal.
54. Muqama Beg.
55. Mir Haji Lang.
56. Haider Gaumesh.

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